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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2079



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PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE IN OFFICERS' CORPS DESCRIBED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1982 pp 14-19

[Article by Maj Gen Stefan Kovachev, candidate of military sciences: "On the Workday of the Officer"]

[Text] "The alternative is clear," Comrade Todor Zhivkov said in the BCP Central Committee accountability report to the 12th congress. "...During the next period we must comprehensively convert to the essentially intensive development of the economy and the other areas of social life."\* This general party line of intensification in all areas of our life is accepted by the entire BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] personnel with a high feeling of party duty and responsibility and the aspiration to implement it most completely under the conditions of the armed forces. It is unquestionable that the objective and subjective factors in the BNA are perhaps the most favorable for making intensification the main way to upgrading the efficiency and quality of the training process and raising the combat and mobilization readiness to the high level of the party's requirements.

At each stage in the development of the socialist society, thanks to the far-sighted leadership and steady concern of the BCP, our armed forces have had highly educated and professionally trained command cadres with higher, secondary and essentially technical education of the troops, modern armaments and combat equipment, and automated and highly mechanized training facilities. As we may see, the subjective and objective factors are present and the alternative is clear. Nevertheless, we are not satisfied with our achievements, and the problems and unresolved questions related to the intensification of military work remain numerous. What is the reason for this? A simple answer would be difficult. It is unquestionable, however, that at this stage the main reason is related above all to the people, the commanders, staffs and political organs, and the style and method of work for the practical implementation of assignments. Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, said the following at the 14th All-Army Party Conference: "The organization of the practical implementation of assignments and planned measures must become the core of all command-organizing work.

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\*T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na TsK na BKP Pred XII Kongres..." [BCP Central Committee Accountability Report to the 12th Congress...]. Sofia, 1981, p. 23.

"The practical work of commanders, political organs, staffs and party and Komsomol organizations must now be transferred downward to the units. The commanders, particularly junior officers and sergeants, must be helped in organizing the proper implementation of daily, weekly and monthly assignments. The monthly plan and the weekly schedule must be the law which no one has the right to violate. All of us must struggle for its implementation."

As we may see, the minister of national defense has emphasized the help which must be given to the young officers and sergeants so that they may properly carry out their daily, weekly and monthly assignments and make the weekly assignment an absolute law which no one has the right to violate. Nevertheless, this law is being violated. Who is violating it and why, and how is this reflected on the working day of the officer and sergeant, which is a mandatory prerequisite for high efficiency and quality of military work?

We must clearly state that most of our commanders organize their work and the work of their subordinates properly, guided by the instructions of the minister of national defense and the basic requirements of the scientific organization of labor and the achievements of modern science. They are achieving high successes not only in combat and political training but in the communist upbringing of the personnel, strengthening the discipline, and preserving the health of officers, sergeants and troops. However, weaknesses in this area are being allowed in some subunits.

In the course of talks and informal conversations with young officers, along with problems of innovations in tactical training and ways and means of training and upbringing, they frequently express their dissatisfaction with the structure of their working day and the elements of unplanned interference and unorganized development. Some of them consider this to be the main reason for the low productivity of military work. Asked about the specific development of the working day, the most frequent answer is that 4 to 6 hours are spent in intensive regular training in accordance with the weekly schedule; 2 to 3 hours are spent in preparations for training the next day, and almost every day they have to remain in the barracks from 1 to 3 hours unofficially. All of this is caused mainly by having to drag themselves from one place to another, from one superior to another and from one conference, meeting, instruction, and so on, to another. This most general time breakdown indicates that the working day of the officer ranges from 7 to 12 hours yet its efficiency is low.

Why is this? In his article "A Close View on Problems," published in the 29 January 1982 issue of NARODNA ARMIYA, Lt Gen Dincho Velez writes that in a number of units, after everything has been planned and coordinated and after the assignments have been issued, some officers instead of directing the efforts of the entire collective on the quality of training based on the weekly schedule are the first to violate the plan, abolish classes, set new assignments and violate one of the most important requirements--that commanders, staff officers and political organs remain in the vanguard of the struggle for high planning and training discipline. As the result, even with a good plan, due to the lack of a strict organization and performing

discipline, the results are rather sad. A planned command-method class with officers for the current week was postponed for the next week because of an investigation "from above." As a result of this, at the stipulated date for the command-method class, the officers were not prepared and valuable training time was wasted. On the following day, regardless of the plan, the staff appointed Lieutenant Ivanov, commander of a tank company, to be the officer of the day of a unit, and the tactical-drill class which he was to teach the following day did not take place. One day during the same week the deputy commander of the unit ordered all commanders to be present at the motor pool area at 0700 hours, for an equipment check. The checking, however, began 2 hours later.

These examples alone prove quite clearly that the planned nature and rhythm of the officer's working day are repeatedly violated not because of his own lack of organization.

This would have been only half the trouble if weaknesses in the organization and planned development of the working day had been totally outside the realm of the organizational work of the officers themselves. Unfortunately, a number of facts indicate that planning and rhythm in carrying out assignments are violated also as the result of individual weaknesses in this respect. Let us consider the question of self-training of the officer as the basic method for upgrading his theoretical preparedness and professional skill. In a number of discussions the officers have admitted that they have a systematic shortage of time to work alone and that they are barely able to review publications and textbooks which help them to draft their plan for future classes. After that they read their newspaper and they have virtually no time during which to expand, intensify and enrich their knowledge. However, is this the essence of the matter? I have reviewed the individual plans for self-training of many officers, both junior and senior and have been greatly impressed by the expedient and substantiated planning of topics in terms of quantity and area, based on technological achievements and the latest developments in the military art. However, whenever I have asked for specific notes on various aspects of the plan for independent work, the people begin to shrug their shoulders and look at me guiltily or else to justify themselves with arguments most of which are groundless. They are groundless mainly because every officer in the BNA is insured on a daily, weekly and monthly basis with a special amount of time for self-training and, given a proper organization of the working day, has no reason whatever to fall behind. Obviously, in this case we cannot justify ourselves with outside reasons. It is rather a matter of the insufficient awareness of the tremendous role and significance of self-training as one of the best methods for being in step with the dynamic development of military service, art and technology and developing as a modern trained military specialist. It was precisely on this subject that in his article "Controversial Problems" V. I. Lenin wrote: "Without a certain independent work we cannot find the truth regarding any major matter, and anyone who fears such work deprives himself of the opportunity to discover the truth."\*

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\*V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 68.

In the epoch of scientific and technical progress and revolution in military affairs, this Leninist statement becomes even more important, for today any lagging is related to substantial and sometimes irrevocable gaps in the knowledge, practical skills and abilities of the command personnel. The gaps in the individual training of the officers inevitably have an adverse effect on the training and upbringing of subordinates and on the combat coordination of the unit as a whole.

However great the significance of the personal organization of the officer in carrying out his assignments within a specific working day and, specifically, the successful implementation of the plan for independent work may be, the problem has another equally important side. This applies to the role and place of senior commanders and superiors, involving their exigency, control and aid and, perhaps, even their underestimating of the problem. This is perhaps the best explanation of the fact that for the time being the problem of the self-training of officers is also the least controlled process within the overall system of the operative-tactical, technical and specialized training of the command personnel.

Listening to the monotonous explanations and justifications for everything, citing mainly the lack of time, it appears that we face a complex dilemma: on the one hand, scientific and technical progress makes it incumbent upon every officer to set aside an increasing amount of time and attention for the study of the latest achievements in physics, mathematics, radio electronics and new types of armaments and equipment; on the other, the increased complexity of official duties exhausts the allocated work time and the only solution is to come to work earlier and go home later and later, or else to rely only on the various courses in the course of which, away from functional duties, we can "stuff ourselves" with military innovations.

Unfortunately, it is true that the length of the working day of some officers is indeed increasing day after day and week after week. This totally unjustified overload worsens their health, forces them to abandon the reading of fiction and other publications or to see movies or plays. Such officers virtually do not participate in the education of their own children and act like visitors in their own homes. Are such totally unnecessary "sacrifices" for the good of the service justified? A study has indicted that spending one's time in the barracks from early morning to late evening is by far not a guarantee for making a given subunit a leading one. The reason is that the efficiency of military work is determined not by the time spent in the barracks and by what one has done, but by what one has accomplished. It must be realized that the struggle for the intensification of the training process is a struggle mainly against waste of time and for packing every minute with a rich learning content.

Nevertheless, a clear answer must be given to the question of does such a dilemma exist and could it be resolved. Yes, the dilemma exists and it is a natural phenomenon as a result of the dialectically conflicting dynamic development of the armed forces. However, the fact that it can be resolved and that it has been essentially resolved a long time ago is confirmed by the high



level of the overall training of the command personnel and the high combat coordination of most subunits. Nevertheless, since the question of insufficient time so acutely faces a substantial segment of young officers, we must clearly state that this is due above all to their inability to organize their work efficiently and to perform their obligations within their working time on a qualitative basis and promptly. However, their superiors bear equal blame in this respect.

Naturally, we are members of the military and to us constant high combat readiness stands above anything else and we cannot take into consideration a specific working time, particularly in practicing for and holding tactical training, exercises and fire practice. However, this does not affect the ordinary working day of the officer, when he is neither on the grounds or on 24-hour duty. Repeated studies and the training practical experience of most officers indicate that with proper planning, good organization and high performing discipline the length of the working day does not exceed 8 hours. Officers who properly plan their working day and carry out their duties persistently and efficiently resolve the same number of various problems as those who, unable to organize their work, would be unable to cover in more than 24 hours.

As we may see, it all comes down to the proper planning of working day assignments and the high level organization and discipline of time and work. With a proper organization of labor, without harmful interference by external factors, any officer can not only successfully perform all of his official assignments but also improve his knowledge on a rhythmical independent basis, and engage in public work, sports, the raising of his children and cultural recreation.

It must be clearly said that at this stage in the development of our army, the entire system of planning and management of combat and political training guarantees a normal working day for the officer and sergeant and that individual weaknesses can be easily surmounted. However, in the spirit of the requirements of the 12th BCP Congress regarding comprehensive intensification, including military work, it becomes more difficult to surmount weaknesses caused by the unproductive loss of valuable time, petty supervision, assumption of the duties of junior by senior officers, low exigency, and permitting simulations and simplifications in the training of commanders, staffs and troops. There are frequent cases in which a person may be summoned by a superior officer for a specific time and end up waiting hours in front of his office. This would be excusable if the result is a clear assignment and the allocation of specific forces and facilities and the setting of realistic deadlines for their implementation. However, it also may happen that the superior officer has only a most general idea regarding a given document which must be developed. Therefore, as the result of the most general instructions which are issued, the executing officer fails to understand what is required of him.

This affects mostly the style and method of work of some staff workers. However, is the situation in the subunits radically different? We already cited

such examples of unproductive loss of time but let us mention yet one more. According to the weekly schedule, the company commander must provide tank-fire practice, something which the battalion commander knows quite well. Nevertheless, he orders that "company commanders be summoned for a conference." The company commanders terminate the training, determine who among the platoon commanders will replace them, and thus lead not only to the breakdown of their own plan but of that of their subordinates.

The company commanders show up at the stipulated time and the conference begins. In the course of the discussions, however, it becomes clear that the problem could have been resolved even without their participation or else in the course of supervision of the training process. However, as a result of insufficient preliminary preparations on the part of the participants in terms of the problems under consideration, the conference stretches hours on end in sterile arguments without any eventual usefulness. Such "hasty" conferences are typical of the work of some senior commanders as well.

This proves that in the case of the majority of officers the allocated time is sufficient although others are constantly complaining of shortage of time. In most cases the reasons are the inability of the young officers to engage in purposeful planning and carry out their working day assignments on the basis of high level organization and order. The superior officers must be as concerned with the elimination of this weakness as with upgrading professional training. In the case of those who are slow to reorganize their work or who work without a plan and carelessly, proper penalties become necessary so that they may learn and be forced to make their working day orderly. Teaching the young officers planning, high level organization and performing discipline and efficiency is an achievement which yields substantial results in future work.

Senior commanders must set the example of high level organization of the work and teach their subordinates how to make proper use of each minute of service time. The higher the status of a given commander is, the stricter must be the requirements he sets toward himself and his own work style.

The successful solution of the problem of intensification of military work depends to the greatest extent on commanders, staffs and political organs and party and Komsomol organizations. It is their example that determines the efficiency of military work during the working day and the enhancement of the professional, ideological and cultural standards of their subordinates. This is also a guarantee for high achievements in combat and political training and in the battle readiness of the troops.

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## GENERAL KOSEV SPEAKS ON BALKAN WAR HISTORY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Report by Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army]

[Text] The 1912-1913 Balkan War is recorded in our heroic military history as a vivid manifestation of the desire of our people for freedom and national unification. It was the supreme effort of the entire Bulgarian population of our liberated countries and of Macedonia and Thrace to reject once and for all the yoke of Turkish slavery. That is why it was the continuation of the national liberation struggles waged by the Bulgarian people against Turkish slavery, the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish War of Liberation, and the memorable Ilinden-Preobrazhensko uprising of the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Edirne Thrace in 1903. That is why the Bulgarian people consider the Balkan War just and progressive, a war of liberation. The battle exploits of the Bulgarian forces, of our fathers and grandfathers, in the Lozengrad, Lyule Burgas, Bunar Khisar, Chataldzha, Bulair and Odrin operations and the battles for the liberation of the Pirin area, the Rodopi and Strandzha are glorious pages in our 13-centuries-old history. They are a remarkable event which to this day triggers our legitimate feeling of national pride and dignity. V. I. Lenin considered this war and its consequences "a new chapter in world history" and a "major step forward in the destruction of the vestiges of the Middle Ages in the entire Eastern Europe."

The Balkan War was fought by our state jointly with other Balkan countries--Serbia, Greece and Montenegro, on the basis of treaties concluded between Bulgaria and Serbia and Bulgaria and Greece, and a verbal agreement with Montenegro. This led to the creation of the Balkan military political alliance, which triggered tremendous enthusiasm among the Bulgarian people and resurrected the hope that finally conditions for good fraternal relations among the Balkan peoples will be established. These hopes and joy were best expressed by Vasil Kolarov who, on the occasion of the solemn welcoming of the 14th Serbian Regiment by the Kyustendil population, wrote: "The enthusiasm, happiness and tears are undescrivable. Here two armies fraternize, two nations are establishing spiritual relations between them through their readiness to fight shoulder to shoulder and to die for a common goal." At the same time, the Balkan alliance was to become a firm shield held by the Balkan peoples against the predatory aspirations of the European great powers.



The unity shown by the Balkan peoples during the war indicated the proper way for the establishment and development of goodneighborly relations and cooperation between them in times of peace and war.

However, this unity was short. The constant interference of the big European imperialist powers in the affairs of the Balkan peoples, the aspirations of the bourgeoisie and the ruling dynasties in Bulgaria's neighbors for domination, territorial expansion and power by grabbing Bulgarian lands and the short-sighted policy of the then Bulgarian state and military leadership led to the breakdown of the Balkan alliance and to a new and even greater aggravation of contradictions among the Balkan peoples. The Balkan Peninsula became a powder keg as it was made by the 1878 Berlin Congress.

The final objective of the just Balkan War of liberation, which was fought by the Bulgarian people, was its national unification within the borders accepted at the ambassadorial conference held in Constantinople in 1876 and ratified at the 3 March 1878 San Stephano Peace Treaty.

The seeds of the Balkan War were planted with the extremely unfair decisions of the 13 June 1878 Berlin Congress, which French historians Lavissen and Rambeau described as a "monument to egotism, the creation of envy, an immoral and base act..." Its decisions revoked the San Stephano Peace Treaty and divided our country into the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, leaving Macedonia and most of the Thracian lands under Ottoman slavery. Most of the population of these lands was Bulgarian, as confirmed by both Western and Turkish sources. According to a Turkish source, which was published in Kiev in 1882, of the total Macedonian population of 1,836,382 people, 1,251,385 were pure Bulgarians, 463,387 were Turks, 57,230 were Greeks and the balance consisted of other small ethnic groups. Therefore, two-thirds of the Macedonian population was Bulgarian even according to Turkish data. In Edirne Thrace, of a total population of 1,454,097 people, 410,724 were Bulgarians, 382,028 were Turks, 257,317 were Greeks and the others belonged to a variety of small ethnic groups. It is clear that in Edirne Thrace as well the Bulgarians were the largest ethnic group. That is why the population of these Bulgarian lands, unfairly separated from mother Bulgaria, did not accept the slavish position allotted to it by the European imperialist forces. As early as the end of 1878 the Kresnensko Razlog uprising broke out and was drowned in blood. The establishment of clandestine revolutionary committees was undertaken in Eastern Rumelia, Thrace, Macedonia and the Rodopi. In 1885 the people themselves unified northern with southern Bulgaria and properly rebuffed those who tried to prevent this great liberation cause. Headed by the clandestine Internal Macedonian-Ohrid Revolutionary Organization, the heroic Ilinden-Preobrazhensko uprising broke out in 1903. It had the same purpose of liberating Bulgarian lands which had remained under Turkish slavery and to unite them with Bulgaria. However, the uprising which led to the creation of the "Krushevo Republic" and the "Strandzha Commune," was drowned in blood. The Turkish government not only refused to carry out the reforms stipulated in Article 23 of the Berlin Treaty and the persistent demands of the local Bulgarian population, but increased its persecution atrocities against the enslaved Bulgarians after the uprising. Under those circumstances, the solution of the Bulgarian national problem became a vital task facing our people

and the war against Turkey, a historical necessity. All Bulgarian political forces called for the just solution of the Bulgarian national problem. In this connection, Dimitur Blagoev wrote: "National unification is a problem to which the working class cannot remain indifferent." It had to be resolved in the interest of the labor movement as well. However, under the conditions of the times, the democratic and revolutionary forces on the Balkans and above all the social democratic parties were unable to resolve the national problem by themselves. It was the bourgeoisie which undertook this task, considering war as the only solution.

By 1912 the socioeconomic development of Bulgaria and the remaining Balkan countries had created the necessary conditions and prerequisites for waging a successful war against Ottoman Turkey. The young capitalist states in the Balkan alliance, with a population of about 10 million (Bulgaria about 4.5 million, Serbia almost 3 million, Greece more than 2.6 million and Montenegro, 250,000) could take to the theater of military operations a more than 900,000 strong army against the 400,000 strong army which backward, semifeudal, 25 million strong Turkey could oppose at the beginning of the war; in the course of the war Turkey mobilized as many reserve forces which it threw against Bulgaria. Actually, it was the Bulgarian forces which had to withstand the heaviest burden of the war. Bulgaria, with a population of 4.5 million people, mobilized virtually all of its reserves, totaling 592,000 men, 490,000 of whom directly participated in the war. Meanwhile, the allies sent the following forces to the front: Serbia, 175,000 out of more than 300,000 mobilized; Greece, about 90,000 out of 300,000 mobilized; and Montenegro, 30,000. Therefore, they had held back a considerable percentage of their reserves, which they used later against Bulgaria in the war among the allies.

At the peak of the battles in eastern Thrace the Bulgarian forces fought the main forces of the Turkish army on a one to one ratio, while Serbian, Greek and Montenegrin forces on the western front, mainly in Macedonia, fought the western Turkish army in a ratio of more than two to one in favor of the allies.

During the war Bulgaria suffered the heaviest casualties--83,000, followed by Serbia with 31,000, Montenegro with 16,000 and Greece with 5,000.

The relatively greater military possibilities of the Balkan allies and the high national awareness of the enslaved population, the Bulgarian above all, which was no longer willing to be enslaved, were major prerequisites for reaching the objectives of the war.

Along with the political and diplomatic preparations for the war intensive ideological indoctrination of the population and the armies of the Balkan countries took place.

The bourgeois governments of the neighboring allied countries, in pursuit of their class objectives, engaged in nationalistic propaganda which was consistent with their aspiration of becoming "great" powers.

In Turkey the preparations for the war were focused mainly against Bulgaria. The militant spirit of the Turkish soldier was praised and hatred for the Bulgarian people was promoted.

The Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (left-wing socialists), which favored the solution of the national problem through the establishment of a Balkan federal republic, opposed militant propaganda while condemning the savage nationalistic and militaristic policy of Abdul Hamid's government as the main reason for the aggravation of the situation on the Balkans.

The Turkish atrocities committed in Kochani on 25 June 1912 and in Verana, following the slaughter in Shtip in 1911, hastened the course of events.

Turkey proclaimed a general mobilization. This was followed by the mobilization of the armed forces of the allied Balkan countries.

On 9 October 1912 Montenegro launched military operations in Northern Albania. The remaining members of the Balkan alliance made a final effort to force the Turkish government to make the changes in the European possessions of the empire as stipulated by the Berlin congress. However, Turkey did not answer the note sent to it and the efforts of the Balkan countries to secure a peaceful solution of the problems remained futile. Turkey declared war on Bulgaria on 17 October 1912. On the following day Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece declared war on the Ottoman empire. On 18 October the Bulgarian forces crossed the Turkish border and the Balkan war broke out.

The Bulgarian people enthusiastically welcomed the mobilization and the declaration of the war. In his military diary Vasil Kolarov noted that the tremendous majority of reservists were showing up and displaying their readiness to rush at the age-old enemy in order to ensure the liberation of their brothers. More than 30,000 Bulgarians from Macedonia, who had served in the Bulgarian forces, joined its ranks to fight for the unification of the Bulgarian people. Many people volunteered, including more than 14,000 refugees from Macedonia and Edirne Thrace, which were formed in the Macedonian-Odrin militia commanded by Maj Gen Nikola Genev. Close to 90 groups of local Bulgarians operated in Macedonia and Edirne Thrace against the Turkish forces. Together with the militia detachments they numbered about 15,000 men. Many of the group leaders were famous Bulgarian revolutionaries from Macedonia and Edirne Thrace, such as Yane Sandanski, Khristo Chernopeev, Mikhail Gerdzhikov, Khristo Silyanov, Doncho Lazov and the great Bulgarian poet Peyu K. Yavorov.

From the first to the final battle, Colonel General Kosev said, the Bulgarian troops displayed their exceptionally high combat spirit. The elan of the advancing Bulgarian forces was so great that during the frontal battle in Lozengrad and the Lyule Burgas-Bunar Khisar operation, conducted by the troops of the First Army, commanded by Lt Gen Vasil Kutinchev and the Third Army, commanded by Lt Gen Radko Dimitriev, they defeated the Turkish forces. In the course of these combats, battles and operations, the Bulgarian troops and officers displayed their great patriotism, self-sacrifice and unparalleled heroism. In many cases commanding officers with their sabers drawn and shouting "Forward, with bayonets!" led into battle their companies and battalions. In frequent cases, in the most decisive moments, the commanding officers stood in front of the regiments and, with battle flags waving, preceded by military bands playing the national anthem, attacked. The Bulgarian troops displayed

their high combat spirit, daring, courage, firm willpower and irrepressible advance in the battles for Seliolu, Gechkinli, Eskipoles, Petra, Erikler and Karaagach, of a type rarely encountered in the military history of the world. Such fighting is possible only in a war of liberation, the just objectives of which increase the forces and spirit of commanders and privates tenfold.

The Bulgarian soldiers astounded and charmed the world with their heroism. The Bulgarian Army and Bulgarian people began to be mentioned with respect and admiration. "The Bulgarian troops amazed Europe," noted the French military observer Lamouche. "They made their country very popular with their fast advance." An exceptionally favorable public opinion for Bulgaria was developed everywhere.

Although opposing the war as a means for the solution of the national problem, Dimitur Blagoev expressed the remarkable idea that once launched, the war must end with the defeat of Ottoman Turkey, which is enslaving many peoples. On the front the left-wing socialists fought as heroically as the other Bulgarian troops and officers. The chests of many of them were covered with medals for courage. They included Vasil Kolarov, Georgi Kirkov, Todor Petrov, En'o Markovski, Dimitur Monov and other noted party leaders.

In less than 3 weeks, in the Lozengrad battle and the Lyule Burgas-Burnar Khisar advancing operations, the Turkish army was defeated and, as V. I. Lenin said, "turned into a disorderly running confused, hungry, tortured and maddened crowds."

Meanwhile, substantial successes were achieved by the Rodopi and Kurdzhali detachments within which fought units of the Macedonian-Odrin militia. The Rodopi detachment separated the Thracean from the Macedonian theaters of military operations, as a result of which the Turkish troops in Macedonia were unable to receive reinforcements. They were also hindered by the Greek navy operating in the Aegean. The Kurdzhali detachment, interacting with the combined horse brigade, captured the corps of Yaver Pasha, together with its commanding officer, at Merkhamlu. The captured Turkish Pasha admitted that "The speed of movement and attacks were amazing. This was a hurricane which could be repeated with a motion of the saber of the commanding officer. The combat training was remarkable." Later he admitted to French Major Matarel his mistake or perhaps tried to justify himself by saying that "Let me admit that I thought that these were not troops but camouflaged officers." Meanwhile, a detachment of torpedo boats of the young Bulgarian Black Sea Fleet, commanded by Captain First Rank Dobri Dobrev, blew up the Turkish cruiser "Hamidie." This put the Turkish Black Sea Fleet virtually out of commission in the war against the Bulgarian troops. The Bulgarian population in the Lozengrad, Odrin, Uzunkyupri and Lyule Burgas and as far as Dulair and Chataldza, as well as in the Ser, Drama, Ksanti and Gyumyurdzhina and as far as Saloniki, Kavala and Dedeagach welcomed its liberators, the Bulgarian troops, with happiness, tears, flowers and dances.



The allied forces as well achieved considerable successes against the Turkish troops in Macedonia. The Serbian army surrounded and defeated the Vardar Turkish Army Corps. The Greek command, however, did not assist the Serbian army, for it hastened first of all to capture Saloniki before it could be taken by the Bulgarian Seventh Rila Infantry Division and other individual Bulgarian detachments which, after liberating Tsarevo Selo and Gorna Dzhumaya (Blagoevgrad), Kratovo, Kochani and other settlements, marched south toward Saloniki.

The liberated Bulgarian population in Macedonia welcomed the Bulgarian troops with unparalleled enthusiasm and with bread and salt--"The precious heroes who brought freedom with their bayonets," as touchingly wrote Vasil Kolarov, who was a participant in the liberation march of the Seventh Rila Infantry Division.

The numerous Bulgarian guerrilla units and detachments, which had been created by the Internal Macedonian-Odrin Revolutionary Organization and the Supreme Macedonian Committee in Bulgaria, were of great help to the Serbian army, the Seventh Rila Infantry Division and the Bulgarian detachments in the Rodopi. They operated together with the allied armies. Most of them fought according to all the rules of the military art. At Orashets Village they defeated the Turkish artillery. With this they opened the way for the Serbian forces to Skopje and enabled them to capture the city without a battle. The partisan units acted daringly and quickly. They helped to liberate the areas or else in stubborn battles themselves captured a number of settlements before regular troops could arrive, such as the cities of Bansko, Melnik, Kavala, Kukush, Gyumyurdzhina and others. The spirit of the militia and the volunteers was very high. One volunteer militiaman from Veles said: "I will not return to my native city without baptism by fire. I would die of shame. Let me fire just once my Mannlicher and die or live honorably."

Such decisive successes achieved by the allied forces, the Bulgarian troops above all, brought the army of the Ottoman empire down on its knees. The Turkish government was forced to beg for peace. On this occasion the Russian periodical VESTNIK YEVROPY wrote: "Instead of raising the question of Turkish reforms, suddenly the question of the very existence of Turkish domination on the Balkans has been raised."

The defeat of the Turkish army in eastern Thrace forced Kumil Pasha, the Turkish prime minister, to request of the Bulgarian government and, through it, the other allies, an armistice and a preliminary peace, on 12 November 1912. This created favorable conditions for the most advantageous and successful solution of the Bulgarian national problem and for achieving the objectives of the war within an exceptionally short time and with relatively minor casualties. However, instead of accepting the request, King Ferdinand, as commander in chief of the Bulgarian troops, ordered the attack of the Chataldzha fortified positions. The attack which began on 17 November, hasty and insufficiently prepared, despite the will for victory, courage and self-sacrifice of the Bulgarian troops, failed. This eased the political situation of the Ottoman government.

Diplomatic efforts to put an end to the war continued. Peace talks were initiated in London on 16 December 1912. At this point, however, following the defeat of the combat operations at Chataldzha, the circumstances facing Bulgaria worsened, which strengthened the unyielding attitude of the Turkish representatives. In addition to the conference held by the warring parties, a conference of the ambassadors of the great powers was also meeting in London, chaired by Edward Grey, British foreign affairs secretary.

After lengthy discussions, the great powers agreed that European Turkey would be divided among the Balkan countries, providing that Bulgaria is satisfied with Macedonia and Thrace, without Saloniki and Constantinople. A note to this effect was sent to Turkey on 17 January 1913.

On 22 January the Turkish government was forced to accept the allied note and demands. On the next day, however, on 23 January, the Young Turks, assisted by Germany and Austria Hungary, made a coup d'etat. Once in power, they rejected the note of the great powers, interrupted the peace talks and continued the war.

In order to ease the position of their forces at Chataldzha and Edirne, on 30 January 1913 the Turkish forces launched an offensive against the Fourth Bulgarian Army commanded by Maj Gen Stoyan Kovachev. The advance of the Turkish forces in the directions of Chataldzha and Calipoli was stopped and the landing at Shark'oy and Bulair was repelled. Once again the Bulgarian troops displayed unparalleled heroism, firmness and the will to win.

At that point the only choice of the Bulgarian Army was to attack and capture by force the Edirne fortress and to force the Turkish government to sign an armistice. This responsible, difficult and complex task was assigned to the Second Army, commanded by Lt Gen Nikola Ivanov. Maj Gen Military Engineer Georgi Vazov was appointed commander of the eastern section where the main strike was to take place. The Bulgarian forces made a miracle. In only 2 days, attacking at night, on 26 March 1913 they captured the Edirne fortress, which was believed impregnable. Once again the Bulgarian troops amazed the world with their already fabulous daring, will to win and elan, which not even death was able to stop.

The exploit of the Bulgarian troops at Edirne once again forced the Turks to continue their talks in London. At this point the disagreements among the allies, which had started even before the war, became fully apparent. Serbia raised the question of revising its treaty with Bulgaria and claimed more land than the treaty stipulated. Together with Greece, it sought the opinion of Romania concerning joint demands and signing a treaty aimed against our country. Bulgaria and Greece argued about Saloniki. Strong disagreements broke out on the question of demarcation lines which Serbia and Greece tried to establish deep into the territory which, according to the treaty was to go to Bulgaria, in the so-called "unquestionable zone." The representatives of the Triple Alliance used all of this to drive a wedge among the allies and to ensure the breakdown of the Balkan alliance. The Turkish representatives continued to display their irredentism concerning Edirne and the Aegean Islands. Romania demanded Silistra.

The Bulgarian militaristic circles, headed by King Ferdinand and Gen M. Savov, recommended to the government to adopt the tactics of firmness in demands and threats of interrupting the talks and resuming military operations, although at that point the Bulgarian forces were in a difficult situation caused by the hard winter and the cholera epidemic.

After the rejection of their demands, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro prepared for joint action. On 29 May 1913, one day before the peace treaty was to be signed with Turkey, Serbia and Greece concluded a military alliance directed against Bulgaria, which had been secretly in the making for a long time.

Under those circumstances, the British foreign affairs secretary, as chairman of the conference of envoys in London, presented the representatives of the Balkan countries with the strict demand to sign the already drafted treaty. The treaty was signed on 30 May 1913 in London.

The London peace treaty put an end to the Balkan War, at a time when the aggravation of relations among the allies had reached its peak.

As the common cause of the members of the Balkan alliance, the Balkan War attained its objectives. Most of the possessions of the Ottoman empire on the Balkan Peninsula or, more accurately, west of the Enos-Midia line, were liberated.

What remained unresolved was the fate of the liberated nations. However, the aspirations of the allies to acquire as much land as possible inhabited by Bulgarian population, urged on by the imperialist powers of the Triple Alliance, and subsequently by Britain and France, led to the interallied war, which was joined by Romania and, subsequently, Turkey. Bulgaria lost the war. Greece acquired 55,000 square kilometers of land with a population of 1.8 million; Serbia acquired 39,000 square kilometers with a population of 1.5 million people; Montenegro acquired 11,000 square kilometers of land with a population of 350,000.

The Balkan War did not resolve the Bulgarian national problem but brought about the liberation of large areas of enslaved Bulgarian lands in the western borders, along the Struma and Mesta Rivers, including Strumitsa, the Rodopi, to the shores of the Aegean, including the cities of Smolyan, Kurdzhali, Ksanti, Gyumyurdzhina and Dedeagach and the Malko Turnovo area with a strip of Black Sea shore. A total of 23,187 square kilometers of land was liberated, with an outlet on the Aegean and a population of 400,000, which represented less than 25 percent of the Bulgarian population, for the liberation of which the war had broken out. Nearly 1.3 million Bulgarians remained in Macedonia and Edirne Thrace, outside the boundaries of mother Bulgaria.

Comrades:

The 1912-1913 Balkan War was recorded in our heroic history not only as a significant contribution to the national unification of the Bulgarian people

but also as a new remarkable stage in the development of Bulgarian and world-wide military art. The war proved the organizational capabilities and leadership qualities of noted military commanders such as Generals Radko Dimitriev, Nikola Ivanov, Georgi Vazov, Nikola Genev, Stoyan Kovachev and others. In the course of the Balkan War the foundations of operations and operative art were laid. For the first time armies were repeatedly combined and subordinated to a single commander in the course of the war. These were the first steps leading to the creation of large operative formations--front commands--which were established during World War I. New developments in the martial art included combat operations at night, the creation of a strong army artillery group, used also in capturing fortifications, the use of a fire wall and fixed barrage and direct laying fire, use of airplanes in battle, and others. The Edirne operation crowned Bulgarian military art. This was a powerful army advance operation against a strong fortification and a large city. With this the Bulgarian forces disproved the view that fortresses can be captured only through blockade rather than stormed. On this occasion the Russian military observer K. Shumskiy wrote that "The seizure of a large modern fortress is something entirely unknown in the history of wars in the last century." The periodical NIVA pointed out that "This attack takes us back to the times of Suvorov, when even the impossible became reality while reality became a legend for the future generations.... The capture of Edirne should be considered an even greater miracle than the capture of Izmail." "The capture of Edirne," wrote the French military observer Mondesir, "is on the level of the most glorious military exploits in the military history of all nations."

Comrades:

The combat skill, creativity and battle spirit, and boundless courage and self-sacrifice of the heroes of 1912-1913 at the altar of the fatherland have today their worthy heirs and followers in the Bulgarian People's Army, which is an inseparable part of the Bulgarian people and the valorious defender of their gains. The Bulgarian People's Army remembers the actions of its grandfathers and sacredly honors their memory. They realize that if at that time the Bulgarian soldiers, sergeants and officers were able to perform miracles on the battlefields, the reason was less their armament and combat equipment than their high patriotic spirit and combat elan. Today, when the Bulgarian People's Army is equipped with modern armaments and combat ordnance and is a member of the great family of the Warsaw Pact members, headed by the invincible Soviet army, it can carry out any assignment in the defense of the fatherland and socialism. It is the high combat spirit of our troops, their communist convictions and patriotism, in which lives the exploit of those who fought in the name of mother Bulgaria, during those distant years of the Balkan War, that gives us this confidence. That is why we say today that their actions live, that Bulgaria remembers them and is solemnly honoring the 70th anniversary of their exploit.

Comrade

There is no more beautiful and lofty memorial to the comprehensive heroism displayed by our grandfathers in the Balkan War and by all precious sons of



the fatherland, who gave their lives for its freedom than contemporary socialist Bulgaria, which is the heir of everything beautiful created by our people in all fields of our development. Grandly rising among the most developed and advanced countries in the world, the Bulgarian People's Republic is confidently building a developed socialist society and boldly marching toward communism.

In 38 years of socialist power the type of revolutionary changes which have taken place in all fields of our life are such that the once poor, backward Bulgaria, plundered by foreign capital, is now forever a thing of the past. It has been replaced by the tall new April Bulgaria, with its contemporary industry and socialist agriculture, in which a happy and proud people are living and working, with their high material and spiritual culture and loyal friends.

The April line opened broad opportunities for the fullest possible development of the creative forces and capabilities of the people and the individuals. Its systematic implementation transformed all corners of the homeland, steadily leading the country toward mature socialism and the approaches to communism.

Socialist Bulgaria has no backward parts and outlying areas. The parts of the country which were known in the past for their poverty and population illiteracy, such as the Kurdzhali area, are developing today faster than the country at large. The party and the government have not lowered their attention to the development of these areas. A clear proof of their concern is found in the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers' decree on the accelerated socioeconomic development of fourth and fifth-type conurbation systems, the border areas and the Strandzha-Sakar area, which met with a broad response throughout the country.

The remarkable successes achieved on the road to socialism were made possible thanks to the inspired toil and creative thinking of the entire Bulgarian people. They are the best and most accurate expression and proof of the accuracy and wisdom of the Marxist-Leninist April policy of our party and its Central Committee.

Comrades:

We are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Balkan War in the difficult and worrisome international situation and the growing threat of a new world war.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic, together with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity, are making great efforts to improve the international situation and to eliminate the threat of war. Our foreign policy is based on the inviolable Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. We try to maintain constructive and good relations with all nations and countries. We made particular efforts to strengthen and develop goodneighborly relations and cooperation on the Balkans. We sincerely wish for the Balkan Peninsula no longer to be a powder keg or the source of

clashes and wars, but an example of well-wishingness, trust and cooperation. This is the purpose of the idea of converting the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, an area of goodneighborly relations, understanding and cooperation, as well as the suggestion made by Comrade Todor Zhivkov of convening a summit meeting in Sofia on this vitally important matter.

The responsibility for increased international tension falls on the militaristic and aggressive circles of the imperialist countries, the United States above all. They are trying to disturb the military and strategic balance existing between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. To this effect they are steadily increasing their military appropriations and developing ever new rearmament programs. They are not reluctant openly to proclaim that they favor a "limited" nuclear war in Europe and are formulating a strategy for a "protracted" nuclear war against the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity.

That is why we cannot ignore the current complex and dangerous international situation and, together with the Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Pact, we are strengthening our military and political alliance and maintaining the combat training of our army on the level of contemporary requirements. In his speech at the conclusion of the "Shield-82" maneuvers, Comrade Todor Zhivkov said: "We do not support the rule that 'if you want peace prepare for war.' However, nor shall we allow those who are preparing for war to catch us unprepared. What we have created during the building of socialism, and our present and our future, the very existence of life on our planet are too great values, protected by our military power, to allow the 'crusaders' of a third world war to change the ratio of forces in their favor!"

The maneuvers themselves, which took place under the slogan "United in Peace and Battle in the Defense of the Cause of Socialism," were another vivid manifestation of the fraternal friendship and combat cooperation among the peoples and armies of the Warsaw Pact and their readiness to rebuff firmly any aggressor and to defend the gains of socialism and peace.

Comrades:

In the memory of the people the Balkan War is one of the bright and heroic pages of our recent history. That is why we honor the memory of those who died and are inspired by the exploits of the heroes who shed their blood on the battlefields of Thrace and Macedonia.

We are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the Balkan War not for the sake of fanning nationalistic feelings and passions, for nationalism, its ideology and practice, is alien to our party and socialist state. We are celebrating this anniversary in order to pay our respects to a historical truth and a historical event and deservedly honor the exploits of the brave Bulgarian soldiers who did not return from the battlefields and who "transferred to another regiment," so that they may remain forever remembered by grateful Bulgaria and by those who did not die but withstood the hardships of the war.

We wish to preserve a historical legacy and to use it as a source for the education of the present and future generations in a spirit of love and loyalty to the homeland.

In celebrating the anniversary of the Balkan war, let us look at the monuments which were built by our people as an expression of reverence to those who fell for national liberation and unification. Let us decorate them with flowers and wreaths and let us resurrect in the memory of the people and their youth and soldiers the self-sacrifice and exploit of our great fathers and grandfathers.

We bow and wish eternal glory to those who fell in the Balkan War, those who fell for the freedom and unification of the fatherland!

We express our filial attitude toward those who, in the battlefields of Macedonia and Thrace, created the greatness of the exploit of the Bulgarian soldier!

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party, the inspirer of our struggle and success and worthy heir of our heroic past!

Long live our dear fatherland, the Bulgarian People's Republic!

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## BULGARIA

### REPORT ON CELEBRATION COMMEMORATING BALKAN WAR

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Oct 82 p 1

[Report by Col Stoyan Mikov: "Great Page in the 13-Centuries-Old History of the Homeland; Ceremony on the Occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Outbreak of the Balkan War, Held in Sofia"]

[Text] The 13-centuries-old history of our people is a rich treasury of the Bulgarian spirit, Bulgarian military glory and struggles and victories for the triumph and self-sacrifice for the sake of the freedom and independence of the homeland.

The 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the 1912-1913 Balkan War is an occasion for paying once again our respects to the heroism and unparalleled courage and valor of the Bulgarian soldiers, displayed at the altar of the homeland for the sake of the liberation of their enslaved brothers in Macedonia and Thrace.

A solemn meeting dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the Balkan War took place at the concert hall of the Central People's Army Club last night. It was sponsored by the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the Ministry of National Defense and the Komsomol Central Committee.

The members of the presidium included Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, Krustyu Trichkov, first deputy chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, State Council members, heads of BCP Central Committee departments, deputy chairmen of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, deputy ministers of national defense, Stanka Shopova, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, Col Gen Vladimir Stoychev, former commander of the First Bulgarian Army in the Patriotic War and Balkan War veteran, generals and officers.

The presidium members also included Lt Gen Vyacheslav Kotov, representing the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces to the Bulgarian People's Army, and Col Engineer Georgi Ivanov, the first Bulgarian cosmonaut, Hero of the Bulgarian People's Republic and Hero of the Soviet Union.

The ceremony was attended by the military attaches of the embassies of the socialist countries in Bulgaria, Balkan War veterans, reserve military personnel, and military servicemen and their families.

The solemn meeting was opened and chaired by Demir Borachev, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

A report on the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the Balkan War was delivered by Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army (published separately).

The solemn meeting ended with the showing of the documentary "Odrin Epic" and a rich concert program.

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## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

DPRK-BULGARIA EXCHANGE GREETINGS--Pyongyang, 30 Oct (KCNA)--The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and Comrade Yi Chong-ok, premier of the Administration Council, received a message from the Bulgarian party and state leaders in reply to a message of greetings sent by the great leader to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. The reply message dated October 14 reads: We express our sincerest thanks to you for the congratulations and good wishes offered to us and the Bulgarian people on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Expressing satisfaction once again with the development of relations between Bulgaria and Korea, we take this opportunity to voice the belief that these relations will continue to expand and strengthen in the future in the interest of the common struggle for the well-being of our peoples and against imperialism, and for the victory of cause of socialism and communism. [Text] [SK301212 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1028 GMT 30 Oct 82]

CSO: 2020/3

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SEPTEMBER 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Sep 82 p 4

[Hans-Joachim Braune review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37, No 9, September 1982, signed to press 11 August 1982, pp 865-976: "New Yardstick for Reproduction." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Theory and Practice of Our Socialist Planned Economy" is the topic of the recent issue of EINHEIT. "Economic progress always means militant confrontation, there is no smooth way," Guenter Mittag writes in the lead article. He points out how our economic strategy--as an expression of our socialist planned economy--is based on increases and improvements in performance. Proceeding from the decisions of the Fourth Session of the SED Central Committee and its newly established yardsticks, the article proves that a complete turn toward intensively expanded reproduction necessitates the use of all factors in their complexity, thus to achieve a high overall effectiveness for the growth of national income. "A scientific-technical task is completed only," Guenter Mittag emphasizes, "when the planned contribution toward increasing labor productivity, toward decreasing energy and material consumption and toward reducing costs in general . . . has been achieved."

Gerhard Schuerer devotes his contribution to the important subject of "Planned Economy and Socialist Democracy." Heinz Wedler reports on the dialectic of responsibility and risk in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress by referring to experiences in combines. Horst Heintze illustrates how the new initiatives in the socialist competition are becoming ever more the source of strength for our dynamic economic development. With his discussion of the problems of efficiency in agriculture, Gerald Schmidt completes "The Topic" of this EINHEIT issue.

Other articles deal with the publication of Volume 7 of "Speeches and Essays" by Erich Honecker [reviewed by Klaus Gaebler]; with Communist education of the youth [by Hartmut Koenig and Siegfried Ransch]; and with socialist legality [by Klaus Heuer]. Interesting experiences from the struggle of our fraternal parties and peoples in Vietnam and Laos are reported as a contribution on international subjects [article on Vietnam by Juergen Fritz, and on Laos by Dieter Doering].

CSO: 2300/37



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

VOLUME 7 OF HONECKER'S 'SPEECHES AND ESSAYS' REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 9, Sep 82 (signed to press 11 Aug 82)  
pp 909-915

[Book review by Dr Klaus Gaebler, member, department chief, SED Central Committee: "On the Meaning and Fulfillment of Our Work: On the Occasion of the Publication of Volume 7 of Erich Honecker's 'Speeches and Essays'"]

[Text] Volume 7 of Comrade Erich Honecker's "Speeches and Essays" contains work of the time of preparation for the 10th party congress. A reader receives insights into the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction. Demonstrated in their indissoluble unity by means of the shaping of social processes are the SED policy's scientific character and its solidarity with and effectiveness among the masses. They attest to our Marxist-Leninist party's being the real leadership force.

Our party's effort and struggle are wholly aimed at the successful implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions with their supreme goal of ensuring peace and the well-being of the people. We are advancing on the road charted by the SED Program in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society whereby to create fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. We are carrying on the socialist revolution in the GDR under the conditions of the 1980's. Fundamental political, economic and intellectual-cultural changes mark the countenance of our socialist state.

Under party leadership the workers class, the urban and rural working people, resolutely seek the implementation of the main task policy, in which economic and social policy are one, for the all-round strengthening of the GDR as a solid component of the socialist community of states rallied around the Soviet Union. That is most strikingly reflected by the great efforts millions of citizens are making in our country on behalf of a great economic performance increase in their various initiatives for an all-round fulfilment of the 1982 national economic plan and the commitment to accomplish a two-day output in excess of the plan.



The communists are getting set for solving all these great tasks; they are taking their positions and are engaging the working people in political dialogue every day so as to mobilize and organize them for an active participation in the struggle for the party goals. Important help for that comes from volume 7 of Erich Honecker's "Speeches and Essays," published, as were the previous 6 volumes, by the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee, and the Dietz publishing house.

The works contained in the volume range from December 1979 till April 1981, a time highlighted, that is, by the intensive preparations for the 10th party congress. It offers deep insights into the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction based on the concrete conditions in our country in the 1980's. It indicates how our party works out the general line of its activity, the strategy and tactics of its struggle, and how it determines the tasks and goals of our domestic and foreign policy for this decade.

The clear Marxist-Leninist analysis of the internal and international conditions of our struggle and the sound scientific conception on social progress in the GDR and the struggle for preserving and securing peace in the studies by the secretary general of the SED Central Committee reinforce the reader in his revolutionary conviction, in his class-bound optimistic approach to solving the tasks that have now ripened.

"The development of our republic in its fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the entire community of socialist states reflects that the SED has always applied Leninism creatively. Doing so, it has used the rich experiences of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. So it came to cope with the various tasks in all fields of public life, finding forms and methods that conform with the specific conditions in our country. That without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice--this Leninist realization has always been our guideline" (pp 333-334). The scientifically based continuity of SED policy and its standing up in life--as "Speeches and Essays" reveal--proves a great source of strength for coping with the requirements of our age.

Directly tied up with the scientific character of SED policy is its solidarity with and effectiveness among the masses: "Mainly the experiences we were able to gather since the Eighth and Ninth SED Congress have shown that the working people's initiative spreads the more widely, the more accurately party policy embraces the working people's interests, the more effectively it serves them, and the better the people understand this policy" (p 334). It is impressive, when reading Erich Honecker's studies, to review once again how the zeal of millions led to the broadest mass movement thus far and how that is shown by our policy's fine balance-sheet. General rules are drawn from experiences and insights, from political mass activity, which is so very important to mobilizing the working people for conscious deeds and for carrying on the political dialogue between the party and the people.

Especially the secretary general's speeches at the 11th and 12th Central Committee sessions, at the conference with the kreis first secretaries in January 1980, and on topical GDR domestic and foreign topical political issues at the

activists' conference that opened the 1980/81 party school year in Gera in October 1980 grant an insight into the timeliness and foresight with which our party responds to the new issues in our struggle that come out of the dialectic between the changing internal and external conditions, through analysis and design. Reviewing these presentations means not merely recalling our most recent party history but also means comprehending that our policy as of today is the outcome of a scientific analysis of public relations and conscious actions in accordance with objective inevitabilities.

### Peace Is the Most Important

On the threshold to the 1980's Erich Honecker comprehensively described the new conditions and tasks in the struggle for safeguarding peace and preventing the danger of a nuclear inferno: "This issue has become ever more the focal point of our interest recently. Due to all sorts of initiatives it becomes clearer all the time today, after all, that socialism and peace are one. GDR citizens are intent on meeting their great political coresponsibility for the consolidation of peace" (p 7).

This great responsibility arises, no last, from the geographic location of our socialist fatherland on the border between socialism and imperialism, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The causes for the deterioration of the international situation are accurately detailed. Through much factual material it is being shown how and why the most aggressive imperialist circles have taken the course toward their arms buildup, threat of force and boycott, why they seek a way out of the crisis of their social system in war preparation and have gone into vehement resistance against the peaceful coexistence policy and detente: "So it becomes ever more apparent that the causes for the deterioration of the international situation and the stirring of sources of conflict in the various regions in the world have to be found in the designs by the most reactionary imperialist circles to send world events into a direction different from what was set down in the Final Act of Helsinki. . . . The set of European treaties, which culminated in the Final Act of Helsinki, must not be sacrificed frivolously to some unfathomable policy" (pp 239-240).

In an aggressive polemic, Erich Honecker unmasks the heart of the matter: "What concerns the aggressive imperialist circles are raw material sources, political and military-strategic positions, spheres of influence and maximum profits. Those forces do not prosper from peace. It is the interests of the people and their struggle for national independence and social progress that prosper in peace. The class policy of monopoly capital endangers peace and the security of the peoples. Therefore the struggle for peace is the central issue for humanity and for the class struggle in the international arena" (p 102).

The secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council keeps reiterating where the GDR finds its place in this international class struggle: by the side of the Soviet Union, in the socialist community of states, and in the worldwide peace movement for ending the arms race and for disarmament. In the knowledge of it, 13.1 million citizens signed Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev's Berlin peace initiative in the fall of 1979 against the NATO missile resolutions. In that sense Erich Honecker, on behalf of the communists and all GDR citizens, assured full support for the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress (cf. p 582).

"Also in our policy toward the FRG--on that we insist--it is mainly a matter of serving peace and permanently securing it."\* This GDR position of principle is explained in several studies, with the speech before the Gera party activists enjoying a special place value with regard to it because there many questions are answered that are questions of principle for GDR-FRG relations: "Things will move ahead in these connections only if one proceeds without reservation from there existing two sovereign states independent of each other and with differing social orders" (p 431).

Our policy is clear: we are for peace, for consolidating our socialist community and for the cooperation of all states regardless of their social order. That goal is served by Erich Honecker's important activities in the field of international politics, as documented in the present volume, among other things, by his speeches during top representatives' visits to Kampuchea, Cyprus, Zambia and Mozambique, at the 67th Interparliamentary Conference in Berlin, during trips to Cuba, Romania and Austria, and in interviews with Robert Maxwell, the publisher of the "Leaders of the World" set of books.

#### Economic Strategy for the Good of the People

Of greatest topical interest are the accounts on the main task policy with its unity of economic and social policy contained in volume 7 of "Speeches and Essays." They not only express the resolve to carry that policy on with determination, they also explain how under the changed internal and external conditions for the reproduction process the economic performance improvement needed for it has to be organized. From the overall connection of the documents contained in this volume, a reader can again clearly see that our party reacts in time and thoroughly to newly ripened conditions, derives implications for the economic policy and implements it together with the working people. A reader can trace how the elements of the economic strategy for the 1980's evolved which were then ratified as a cohesive conception at the 10th party congress marking one of the most significant scientific-theoretical achievements by our party for the present. That also illustrates that, rather than a compilation of complete recipes, Marxism-Leninism is a guide for creative action to the SED.

To bring the advantages and impulses of socialism still more fully to bear, it was important to work out the sort of scientific conception that would ensure the continued dynamic development of our economy. It had to be taken into account that the international situation is now less favorable and that the capitalist world stumbles from crisis to crisis, which could not help but affect our own development, too. In view of that, our economic strategy could only be achieving a maximum performance development through fully exhausting the GDR's own production and research potential. The key point here lies in more closely and effectively combining the advantages of socialism with the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution, giving full weight to the qualitative growth factors, and decisively improving the efficiency and quality of labor in all fields. "The key issue here is that we envisage a

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\*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Third Session of the SED Central Committee), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 20.

steep rise in labor productivity. Well functioning combines, enterprises and entire industrial branches provide the evidence for that it is possible clearly to raise labor productivity above and beyond the customary average rates. In selected fields rationalization even facilitated multiples in productivity and cutbacks in labor by means of most up-to-date technologies" (p 37).

The necessary measures were taken in time by the party leadership to speed up socialist rationalization by means of microelectronic, industrial robot technology, digital and nondigital machine controls, electronic computer technology, administrative rationalization and so forth. The whole economy was assigned the task to tap reserves for it and thus basically improve the cost/benefit ratio. "In this sense a higher refinement of energy sources and raw materials becomes the decisive basic trend for our economic development. The growth of production and national income can in the future not be made dependent on using more material but on more highly skilled labor" (p 562).

The 11th session of the Central Committee had a special role to play in preparing the strategic conception for our economic policy in the 1980's: "With good reason one can say that the 11th session of the Central Committee made an important contribution to the further development of our economic policy. That is of great weight in preparing the 10th party congress because, after all, the advances in all domains of public life are more and more under the influence of economic achievements" (pp 117-118).

Thanks to the resolute orientation to the intensification of economic processes and the growing mass initiative in socialist competition, it became possible to implement the social program step by step. In this, our party always assigned priority to those sociopolitical tasks that most conform to the needs above all of the workers class and the other working people: "When we determined in the early 1970's that the housing construction program was the centerpiece of our social policy, we were mindful to how much good housing means for the people's everyday life. . . . Especially also the good results in this field make the advantages of socialism stand out every more clearly" (p 281).

It is of course not easy consistently to carry on, under the tremendously different conditions of the 1980's, the unity of economic and social policy as set down by the 10th party congress. Our course, committed to the good of the people, turns out all the more, and extraordinarily, effective in political terms. The results of that policy were summarized by Erich Honecker, in his concluding speech at the fourth session of the Central Committee, in June 1982, as follows: "It turns out it was correct to react aggressively to the unfavorable changes in foreign economy conditions by seeking higher achievements and increased labor productivity. That also is the way to frustrate the effects and designs of the trade war unleashed by the U.S. government against the socialist countries and our GDR."\*

Our party has tenaciously devoted itself to the basic problems in agricultural policy. In his concluding speech at the Farmers Congress of the GDR, in May 1982, Erich Honecker remarked: "The course of your 12th Farmers Congress of

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\*"Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 4. Tagung des ZK der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 90.



the GDR and its outstanding results brilliantly attest to our party's agricultural policy and to the creative application on German soil of the Leninist cooperative plan."\* In the contributions in "Speeches and Essay" to agriculture, no doubt remains about the cooperative farmers' responsibility for the use of cooperative property, nor about being able to raise efficiency decisively only by effective cooperation between crop and livestock production. The basis for agricultural performance improvements lies in "the development of crop production. Crucial for that is," as Comrade Honecker affirmed, "to make truly effective use of each square meter of soil. The soil remains agriculture's chief means of production and a crucial source of social wealth. A task of primary importance lies in constantly improving soil fertility. On that mainly will depend the yields of years to come" (p 144).

Increasing grain production was unequivocally singled out as an economic and political priority; to the GDR that means mainly raising yields per hectare. To achieve it, production intensification through an efficient use of science and technology is growing ever more important. As to livestock production, a rational use of fodder and good livestock care and maintenance have always been the focal point of SED agricultural policy. Our party has always regarded the socialist--mainly the cooperative--ownership in the means of agricultural production as the basis for successful development: "Everything is to be done to exhaust ever more fully the potentials of the LPG's and VEG's and their cooperative facilities. Cooperative property is what notably shapes our agriculture; it offers great long-range development opportunities" (p 147).

In dealing with GDR economic matters, the secretary general always underscores the fundamental importance of cooperating with the USSR and the other countries in the socialist community. That is the foundation for our country's stable and dynamic development. Socialist economic integration ties up our national economy ever more closely with the fraternal states and their main force, the Soviet Union. Through our two countries' production specialization and cooperation program up to 1990 and the long-range cooperation target programs within CEMA, we have the necessary long-term determinations for conforming with the requirements of our era.

#### Consolidation of Power and Spreading of Democracy

Much room is given in the present volume to the development and consolidation of the workers and farmers power and to national defense. The accounts confirm that our party looks at socialist state power in the GDR as the most significant accomplishment of the revolutionary German proletariat and all other progressive forces, as the unshakable foundation of our social order: "Crucial is and will remain that from the outset we have secured, constantly further fortified and defended the workers' and farmers' power, the foundation on which the working people's freedom rests. No one was allowed and will ever be allowed to toy with it, let alone to touch it" (p 417).

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\*Erich Honecker, "Workers and Farmers Hand in Hand for Socialism and Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15/16 May 1982, p 3.

It is in the nature of our Marxist-Leninist alliance policy and of socialist democracy that the working people take an extensive part in the management and planning of public affairs. Under the leadership by our party, the mass organizations make a contribution of their own to the representation of the citizens' interests and the mobilization of their initiatives. So the FDGB, the most inclusive mass organization of the ruling workers class, proves a school for socialism, in production development as well as in representing the interests of the working people. True to the tested principle that trust has to be place in youth and it be assigned responsibility, the party and the FDGB work closely together in confidence. Fortifying the working class alliance with the cooperative farmers, the intellectuals and all other working people is an indispensable party principle in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and is expressed by the deepening cooperation among the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front of the GDR.

Even the range given to science, education and culture in the "Speeches and Essays" by the secretary general suggests the great importance attached to those fields. In view of the economic strategy, the encouraging of research activity gets most of the attention: "A role of the first rank here lies in intensifying scientific work and enhancing the effectiveness of research itself. That calls for resolutely promoting the capabilities of research collectives and purposefully developing young talented personnel" (p 151). The basis for high achievements in R&D as in all other domains of life is laid early in public education: "Our time needs people with great knowledge, clear political standpoints, and fully developed socialist ethics, people who know something and can do something. That follows from the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution and production development as much as from the demands made on active participation in solving the public tasks in socialist democracy" (p 155). Culture and art have a great share in the development of socialist personalities and the forming of the socialist way of life. "The material and the cultural, it turns out, are inseparable in our main task policy. Developing a substantial and diversified intellectual-cultural life is a solid component of this policy for the good of men" (p 159).

#### The Party's Growing Leadership Role

The whole volume is pervaded with the certainty that we keep moving forward with success. Revolutionary optimism and the conviction are expressed that the communists also in our country, through the doctrine by Marx, Engels and Lenin, have what it takes to cope with all tasks and the problems now ripe. In this spirit our party is most intimately tied up with the CPSU, a reliable section of the communist world movement. "All its activity as vanguard of the workers class and of all working people is pervaded with the invincible doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism. Its policy expresses the interests of the workers class and all working people. Our party is part of the people, it serves the people" (pp 418-419).

All contributions express our party's resolve always to bolster its fighting strength, its unity and cohesion, and its solidarity with the masses. "It is in the nature of things that in the continued shaping of the developed socialist

society, the party's leadership role constantly grows in all spheres of life."\* The SED's ideological work here is the innermost core of all it does. What Erich Honecker says about it expresses what the demands in the 1980's are that are placed on the political-ideological work of the communists, and how the quality and efficacy of agitprop are to be enhanced. "We are now dealing mainly with people who grew up in socialism, acquired a comprehensive education in our republic, and have learned to think and judge politically and share in the responsibility for the commonwealth. Thus, also in mass political activity, only quality work can last. General platitudes and ritual formulas will, as it were, get you nowhere. Needed are compelling arguments, expert information, relevant answers to people's inquiries, interesting discussions and effective methods--all this substantive in world-outlook and with a class-bound fidelity to principles" (p 177).

Tribute is paid in this context to the great educational value in passing on historical lessons and the revolutionary traditions. Special tribute is paid to the publication of the Ernst Thaelmann biography. "Everybody can see from this biography, written as a genuine people's book, how our party in our era observes and realizes the Thaelmann legacy. . . . Knowing the truth about the historic course taken by the KPD fosters and deepens our understanding of present and future tasks" (p 80). The speech for constituting the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR points the direction for preserving and extending progressive and humanistic traditions.

Erich Honecker conveys lessons from the most recent history for our present, for instance in his speech on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the freeing of the antifascist resistance fighters from the Brandenburg-Goerden penitentiary, or in essays on the 35th anniversary of the Red Army's victory over Hitler fascism. As a model for generations of young revolutionaries he tells of the life and work of Wilhelm Pieck, chairman of the SED, the first president of our workers and farmers state, the battle-tested leader of the German and international revolutionary movement who embodies our communist ideals, the militancy on behalf of Marxist-Leninist ideas, and the legacy of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht (cf. p 365).

The purpose and meaning in our dealing with history, in SED history propaganda, meeting with positive public resonance and hitting the enemy where it hurts, does not amount to looking backward and is certainly not only a matter of conveying knowledge: "An enduring basic concern here is productively to apply the history of our party and our movement, and of our entire humanistic and democratic legacy, to solving the political tasks of the present and of the future. Our policy continuity in our past and present, after all, is a source of strength for carrying on the socialist revolution in our country" (pp 179-180).

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\*Erich Honecker, "With Full Speed Ahead for the Good and Happiness of the People," NEUER WEG, No 5, 1982, p 161.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REQUIREMENTS FOR EFFECTIVE USE OF COLLEGE STUDENTS OUTLINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 9, Sep 82 (signed to press 11 Aug 82)  
pp 916-922

[Article by Guenter Bernhardt, state secretary, GDR Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs; and Dr Edwin Schwertner, economist, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee: "Colleges in the Struggle for Higher Achievements"]

[Text] The continued entwining of science with public life, especially with the economy, increases the responsibility of the universities and colleges in the struggle for higher achievements in teaching and research. Resolutely using the available scientific and educational potential, enriching the intellectual-cultural life with top achievements, and thereby fully exhausting the performance capabilities is among the basic tasks in college affairs, according to the Fourth Session of the SED Central Committee. Against that we must measure the success of our political-ideological work and of the management and planning in study and research.

With the 18 March 1980 SED Central Committee resolution, entitled "University and College Tasks in the Developed Socialist Society," our country's highest educational institutions have a sound scientific and far-reaching guideline that was ratified by the 10th party congress and the fourth session of the SED Central Committee and rendered more specific in conformity with the new requirements and conditions. The basic demands placed on college affairs are to use the available scientific and educational potential more consistently for needed economic performance improvements, notably to elevate the level of training, teaching and research, and with the highest effectiveness work out and more rapidly apply the scientific data.

"Science," as Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, put it, "has grown into a new role and responsibility. Its entwining with public life, especially with our economy, has reached a higher qualitative level. Any serious and penetrating advance in the development of the modern productive forces, today and for the future, has its roots in scientific data."\*

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\*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 51.



College teachers and scientists will meet the high responsibility resulting therefrom by more deeply still penetrating the economic and social interconnections, notably enhancing genuine top performances in research, dedicating themselves more consistently to the economic utilization of science data, and letting themselves be guided by the fact that every advance in training, education and research essentially expresses their personal political commitment to the policy of peace and the strengthening of socialism. Among the most important tasks of the party organizations and all social forces in college affairs is to keep shaping further this responsibility in all scientists, associates and students and lead them toward further performance increases.

#### Using the Educational Potential

College teachers have the social mission to train socialist specialists for the GDR who have the most up-to-date scientific knowledge and diversified skills and a high intellectual-cultural education. Training and communist education therefore have to be more emphatically aimed at enabling the graduates to find their bearings in the sciences on their own, conscientiously translate science data into practice, and dedicate themselves in a party-minded manner and through their personal commitment to innovation and to the strengthening of socialism.

To improve the premises for high-level studies and for acquiring capabilities and skills in an acceptable time frame, 34 study plans and circa 90 teaching programs have already been revised and rendered more specific since the 10th SED Congress. Growing attention was paid here also to broader and more sound theoretical basic training, combined with acquiring solid specialized knowledge.

There are now circa 1.4 college and technical school graduates who are working in all the domains of the GDR's public life. That gives us 188 college and technical school graduates per every 1,000 persons employed. That raises the responsibility of society, especially of the combines, enterprises and institutions, to more effectively using the available educational potential and not to permit graduates to be used below their qualification levels. Comrade Erich Honecker had to admit at the fourth session of the Central Committee that in 1981 still circa 12 percent of all college graduates was employed in activities not commensurate with their qualifications. That is not only a squandering of education and of the social outlays for the gaining of knowledge. It also is a totally unjustifiable relinquishing of modern knowledge on behalf of economic development and blocks a rapid implementation of scientific-technical progress.

Demographic development suggests a drop of admissions to technical school and college studies after 1985. The strength of typical age-groups attending college reaching the top in 1983 by circa 286,000 persons (between 19 and 23 years of age), will then drop till 1995 to circa 180,000. The college policy decision to have 24 percent of any age-group of young people enrol in studies even under these conditions still means an annual reduction in admissions in absolute figures. That percentage, as laid down, cannot be exceeded because we must of course also properly keep in mind vocational training, the national defense needs and other public domains.

That situation all the more calls for still more thorough deliberations on how the available educational potential, the knowledge, capabilities and skills of the graduates, can still better be used and be made economically highly effective.

Advances made in graduate training can become effective in the interest of society and of the needed performance improvements only if we succeed in using the graduates in the practical field in line with their training and qualifications and make the best of their chances of working themselves in swiftly. New favorable conditions were created for the planning, preparation and implementation of assigning graduates by the formation of the combines. E.g., at the Karl Liebknecht VEB heavy machine construction, Magdeburg, an educational conception was worked out that ensures the graduates' rapid practical effectiveness while keeping it balanced with public requirements and personal interests. That pertains to accords with the graduates on their becoming familiar with enterprise problems in line with their training and specialized knowledge, an annual performance rating and necessary advanced training measures for them, and the concluding of promotional arrangements. Using graduates in the development of top products and ensuring close ties with their former training institution are additional important measures for making the fullest use of their performance capability and dedication. That kind of a procedure in the enterprises and combines also fosters the pleasure in one's occupation and the desire to make a good showing in the collective; it reinforces the sense that one is doing something useful for the GDR and its economic and political consolidation.

Much attention is paid to the assignment of graduates in many comprehensive contracts between colleges and their partners in the field of practice. Most useful have been found here also accords among party organizations which, in particular, bring an influence to bear on ideological problems in the assignments of graduates. Joint party activists conferences, party executive meetings and other such activities notably assist the cooperation with the practical field and ensure a high effectiveness in the use of our educational potential.

#### Increasing Our Performance Capability

A new curriculum goes into effect at all universities and colleges when this school year starts; great efforts are made everywhere in preparing it. The purpose of this new arrangement, already announced in the Politburo resolution of 18 March 1980, is to provide more uninterrupted time for independent scientific work for college teachers and students by concentrating instructional materials and reducing the number of weeks of teaching, whereby to achieve a better quality of training and study results among all students.

The new curriculum above all makes substantive demands on the handling of lectures, seminars, drill and practical exercises in taking more cognizance of economic requirements and on a better coordination between subject matters and scientific assignments for the students during the time frames outside their course work. Teaching, self-study and independent scientific work by the students organically flow together and must consistently be enforced as such. The innovation mainly is the further shaping of the students' independent science

work. Through appropriate assignments under the direction by the teaching staff they are to be enabled to seek original solutions, explore scientific and practical problems from different sides and with different methods, and thus tap new opportunities for applying their knowledge and their specialized discipline. Such an approach also fosters characteristics such as dedication, the courage to take acceptable risks, pleasure in making decisions and political commitment. Making that objective prevail in the thoughts and actions of the teachers and students is among the most important party tasks at the universities and colleges in the new school year.

This substantive reorganization of studies, especially the formulation of tasks for the time when there are no courses, initially places extra burdens on some of the teachers, of course. But it will have paid off once the students, in the process of scientific activity, in dealing with the literature and in creatively solving tasks assigned, make the full use of their capabilities and when new talents and endowments show up which to promote and to include in scientific work is the noblest task for each college teacher. The party executive should help make these necessary changes and accurately analyze in the next school year which measures and requirements best conform with the concern of the new curriculum.

The universities and colleges and the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, where the decisive potential for natural science and technical basic research is concentrated, received the task from the 10th SED Congress to achieve scientific peak performances that in every way improve the technical and technological production level, are aimed at a still more rational use of energy and raw material resources, and significantly boost our social labor capacity. That is why it is important in every research phase to review results constantly in terms of their social application and accelerate the application of data.

Typical at present is a stronger orientation of all research to a higher and more effective contribution to our economic performance development, especially in such crucial research fields as microelectronics, robot and operations techniques, automation and controls, raw material and working material refinement, and a rational energy use.

The tremendous development of the productive forces and the growing tasks in scientific-technical progress objectively call for a higher degree of science and production cooperation. It has turned out to be correct to start such cooperation early on in the planning phase of basic research, in formulating joint research themes and in early creating the prerequisites for data application. Such a cooperation does away with letting research data lie around for a long time without becoming effective in production because the partner in the practical field does not have for it what it takes. And then it also ensures for practical tasks to be announced to science in good time. The Technical University Dresden, e.g., has established stable contractual relations meanwhile with over 100 combines and enterprises. They facilitate labor concentration on economic priorities and the exchange of and advanced training for personnel. They include the sections' material and technical assistance by industry, the assignments for graduates and the cooperation among the party organizations, the FDJ organizations and other social forces.

The guideline issued by the third session of the SED Central Committee, on reviewing all scientific-technical tasks in terms of their economic effectiveness and make them conform with the requisite performance development in accordance with the five-year plan, has released many initiatives among the university and college scientists. In all institutions, under party organization leadership, the research tasks have been reviewed in terms of their economic effectiveness, briefer intervals for working the out, reduced expenditures, and further qualitative improvements for the objectives. Here it had to be clarified ideologically that when any one scientist or the collectives agree with party policy, that must be crystallized in higher and more ambitious results of their labor. Many questions of labor organization, from its approach down to the necessary world standard comparisons, had to be answered in a new way and necessitated an honest, critical and self-critical position and atmosphere.

One often started by discussing peak performances and the criteria applied to them. It became clear rapidly that not subjective opinions but the social benefit and the comparison with international top standards are the key to genuine performance. Peak achievements are such outstanding results in which a high theoretical demand combines with great economic and social effects. Scientific peak performances provide the economy with bases for new highly efficient procedures or for products higher in intrinsic value. They must lead to a considerable labor productivity boost, the improvement of working conditions and the world marketability of the products, and must enrich the life of science.

It therefore is the task of the political-ideological work and the activities of the responsible college teachers, scientists and managers further to develop the readiness among all who are in the universities and colleges to face the ambitious goals and take new routes in making use of all opportunities in line with economic requirements and constantly evaluate and seek top world standards. Especially about that one should more purposefully still encourage frank and objective debate. Reticent criticism using the argument that one does not know a colleague's field of work well enough and the shying away from debates keep preventing us from discovering effective solutions.

An effective method for improving the quality and efficiency of scientific work, it turned out, has been the performance comparison among sections and science areas initiated at the Technical College in Karl-Marx-Stadt. It makes possible tracing the causes for successes but also the deviations from optimum levels, and drawing conclusions from it. It presupposes, however, the willingness by each involved to reveal the secret of their success, abandon obsolete habits and learn from what is better. That way alone can one disclose unjustified performance differentials and tap additional reserves.

Good experiences also were gathered at colleges that set up party staffs for important research projects or in research collectives. There is one party staff at the Technical University Dresden, e.g., that supervises the implementation of a comprehensive application effort in microelectronics. At the Warnemuende/Wustrow Engineering College, the college party executive assumed direct control of the robot research. The SED kreis management at Humboldt



University in Berlin in April 1982 conducted a party conference with scientists in the natural science and technical sections on their contribution to scientific-technical progress. Such discriminating and diversified activities prove to give very much of a boost to performance in that they above all help create the ideological prerequisites for performance improvements in scientific work.

Under those aspects, after the 10th SED Congress and, particularly, since the third session of the Central Committee, good results were achieved in improving the efficiency of college research and in concentrating the potentials. Through the research collective "Enzymology" at the biosciences section of the Martin Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg, in cooperation with the Institute for Technical Microbiology and the VEB Maisan/Barby enterprise, there has been developed an enzyme protein agent based on some basic material produced in the GDR. It serves the production of purest glucose without any expensive crystallization and greatly cuts down our previous imported enzymes. This procedure offers further chances for applying agent materials for other technically relevant enzymes for economic benefit.

Scientists in the physics and electronics sections of Humboldt University in Berlin have adopted the goal to complete communications research a year ahead of time, through developing their interdisciplinary work and improving science cooperation, within the university as well as with Berlin industries, to provide the television electronics plant with an urgently needed component.

Where are the reserves for achieving higher performance faster?

--The scientists' creativeness and their uncompromising commitment must be challenged more compellingly. Material incentives and special citations must foster the motivation for high achievements. Mediocrity must not be tolerated, let alone be given bonuses.

--State managers and executives of social organizations ought to demand and promote more daringly the will and courage for the risk in taking new approaches.

--We should more resolutely challenge and organize the critical debate about what is to be achieved (within and among the collectives).

--Responsible state managers have to take into account that scientific top achievements mature through purposeful longtime basic research, for which the necessary premises, material-technical and in personnel, have to be created. For the colleges this implies a rapid and purposeful development in the building of scientific devices through tapping all internal reserves.

--The desire to advance one's own education and to study and pick up basic science data from related fields must be developed more prominently.

#### Improving the Cost/Benefit Ratio

All experience in the work at the universities and colleges after the 10th party congress illuminates that a continued performance improvement at colleges

is inseparable from heightening the level of political work and from perfecting the management, planning and organization of science activity. Creating the most effective working conditions, awakening creativity and conduct committed to socialism, and ensuring the most rational use of material and financial resources belong among the basic tasks in management activity and constitute socialist democracy at the universities and colleges in the GDR.

The remark in the Politburo resolution of 18 March 1980, that the main way to perfecting management and planning activity lies in the continued shaping of socialist democracy, is confirmed time and time again. Thorough conferences on the tasks that are to be solved and the assessment of work results with the people at the colleges, especially with the science council at the college and on the section councils, therefore is gaining the greatest importance.

Making full use of the political authority and science potentials of the science council at the college and the section councils calls for constantly stimulating them by the work of their chairmen, rectors or directors of sections, which holds a creative interaction with the collective responsibility the council members assume for expertly advising the individual chiefs on the most important scientific and science policy business at the college or in the sections.

This means, first and foremost, fully meeting the responsibility for the use of the material and financial funds and getting everything possible out of the available labor capacity. Then it is a matter of gaining more uninterrupted time for solving research tasks or dealing with scientific problems. The solution for it does not lie in merely improving the organization of the work process on the surface. What matters is to make maximum use of dedication, personal commitment and working hours by means of effective ideological work. In the use of computer techniques at Karl Marx University in Leipzig, e.g., it was brought about that the two ES 1040 ADP installations have since the start of the year been used for more than 20 hours a day for training and research and for aiding in management and planning processes. That was possible because the management and party organization ideologically and organizationally focused with purpose on close cooperation between the organizational and the computer center and the main users of the computer techniques, the mathematics and natural science sections at the university, and also with other colleges and with institutes at the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.

Noteworthy efforts are being made at all facilities toward improving the efficiency in the use of liquid energy sources by rationalizing transportation, storage and transshipment processes. By forming or expanding existing car-pool arrangements with respect to the colleges, academies, libraries and so forth located in the territory, by territorial agreements on shipping space and motor vehicle repair coordination and by optimizing the plans for tourism and commuter traffic and many other measures, fuel contingents were found sufficient and sometimes even more than sufficient.

With the purpose of further extending the cooperative use made of the aggregate of devices available, of organized experience exchange and of long-term territorial correlation for large equipment that is crucial for performance, user communities have formed in various bezirks and territories which include colleges,



institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, combines and even small and medium-size enterprises. Through the work by user communities for science equipment in Rostock Bezirk, within the framework of preparing bids for the economic plan and such, by means of making available multiple use capacities, and by rotating equipment in use, investment requirements have thus far been reduced by M 160,000.

Enforcing the socialist performance principle holds the key for solving the teaching and research tasks. Socialist management also means the unity between sound political requirements, creating the requisite working conditions, controlling the work in progress, and computing and evaluating the outcome. That is the basis for material and moral recognition. Where that is not done consistently, one either lets things go with mere "moral appeals" or there comes then some uniformity, some levelling that lowers the standards. Crucial for genuine, stimulating performance rating is a creative, critical, progressive atmosphere in the science area and work collective. Where the assessment and rating of results are frank, high achievements result. Novel ideas and thoughts do not wait for the work to begin, nor can they be turned off on the spot. Science, teaching and research are not advanced by those who keep their eyes on the clock, but by personalities who are dedicated to their subject matter in veritable rapture. And that is not an experience or invention that had to wait for socialism to be borne out.

All that has been said here comes down to the fact that teaching and scientific work are tough and strenuous activities with specifics of their own. "The work of a college teacher calls for talent, high achievement, a clear political dedication to socialism, and public activity. That is a taxing, hard and ambitious business demanding the fullest devotion and the whole personality. That alone makes possible fulfilling the tasks in training and education and pushing into virgin territory, into uncharted land, in research. And that makes teaching and research great and tough, exciting and demanding."\*

Management activity and the ideological work of all social forces must in the future be aimed at fundamental improvements in the cost/benefit ratio. In a correct assignment of personnel, in promoting their creative activity and, above all, in "bringing to full economic effect the considerable potential of skilled labor,"\*\* there we can find our largest reserves, as Comrade Erich Honecker put it in his concluding speech at the fourth session of the SED Central Committee. And against that we then also have to measure the success in the management and planning of scientific work.

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\*Kurt Hager, "Schlusswort auf der V. Hochschulkonferenz der DDR, Protokoll" (Proceedings of the Fifth College Conference of the GDR--Concluding Speech), Zwickau, 1980, p 264.

\*\*"Au. dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 4. Tagung des ZK der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 93.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LAW-ETHICS INTERRELATIONSHIP, EFFECTIVE LAWMAKING DISCUSSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 134, 4 Sep 82 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "Recorded Crimes in GDR Decreased in 1981--Differing Trends in Individual Crime Categories." A translation of the article by GDR legal expert Prof Klaus Heuer, cited below, follows this commentary]

[Text] According to the SED, 122,000 crimes were recorded in the GDR in 1981. That figure is slightly below the average figures recorded between 1970 and 1979. There was a circa 5-percent reduction in recorded crimes in 1981 compared with the previous year. In this connection, Prof Dr Klaus Heuer has declared they were "far from minimizing crime and the effects it has on the normal, orderly rhythm of work and life in our country." Yet the GDR had "reached and kept a remarkably low crime rate since the early 1970's despite greater hostile attacks and attempts to export brutality, greed and other behavior patterns from the capitalist world to socialism."

GDR criminal statistics show a most uneven trend in the crime rate. The recorded crime rate of 1981 still is much higher than the one of the late 1960's (1968 = 100,000, 1969 = 106,000 crimes), though the crime rate between 1971 and 1974 (an average of circa 131,000 crimes per year) has not been equaled again thus far. While some crime categories decreased, others increased again since the late 1960's. The number of physical violence, primarily committed by young offenders, increased and so did the number of crimes not clearly defined (including political offenses). In judging the GDR crime rate, one also has to take into account that in certain areas there is a very high rate of obscurity, as even GDR detectives admit. That is true, for example, for working people who snatch building materials, tools, spare parts and so forth in enterprises, which is often hushed up by those in charge or not even noticed. The SED leadership therefore emphatically demands a reaction to "any law violation." Every law violation should have to be uncovered and every violator be brought to justice. More of an effort should have to be made "above and beyond a fair punishment for each criminal according to law, to spot the conditions that facilitated the crime and to eliminate them."

## SED Legal Expert's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 9, Sep 82 (signed to press 11 Aug 82)  
pp 934-939

[Article by Prof Dr Klaus Heuer, jurist, staff employee, SED Central Committee:  
"Law and Legality in Our Country"]

[Text] Proceeding from the main trends in the effectiveness of socialist law, it is being demonstrated that legislation and jurisprudence have become a truly public affair among us. Questions about how to perfect law regulations are treated under the aspect of the effectiveness of law for the sake of high economic performance improvements. The consequences are presented that arise for reinforcing our legality and the systematic further extension of our legal order.

Our party's policy in the field of law is part of its overall policy. Its aim has been and is an order of law that expresses the interests and intent of the workers class and its allies, reliably guarantees the protection of our society, of the people's property and the rights and freedoms of the citizens, and thus effectively aids in the shaping of the socialist way of life. That includes legal security for the citizens, legislation the working people can understand that realizes their interests, a comprehensive working people participation in jurisdiction, and the concentration by the state and the society on prevention and education.

Socialism, as Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed before the kreis first secretaries, has done incomparably more not only for peace, for work and subsistence, for education and culture, but also for the rights and freedoms of the working people than all previous social orders put together. The quality of our order of law lies in its legislation according to plan. The People's Chamber and the Council of Ministers of the GDR have, under party leadership, perfected law regulations so much in recent years that they in every way promote the shaping of the developed socialist society. Based on our Constitution, these constitutional laws ensure the development of socialist democracy and a solid state order.

### Extensive Working People's Participation

At the 10th party congress, tribute was paid to the Labor Code as a Magna Charta of labor by which the right to work, as a fundamental human right, and the trade union rights have been further extended. As demonstrated by the sessions of arbitration and conflict commissions, court proceedings and the sale of nearly 3 million copies of the Labor Code and more than 2 million copies of the Civil Code, jurisprudence has become truly a public concern. That was helped by the content of the regulations, their clear language the citizens can understand and the form that puts everything together that belongs together. By the way: four years after our Labor Code was ratified, the FRG dropped the attempt to create its own labor code. Those in power there evidently were afraid that the social and political rights the workers class and its organizations had gained

might be written into law in a comprehensive labor code, which would especially in this field restrain, for the benefit of the working people, the widespread "judicial rights." Such a "risk," which would have reduced the monopolies' maneuverability, had to be countered--and the project went up in smoke.

The high level of the legal order in our country is largely due to the extensive involvement by the working people: basic laws are publicly debated in their draft form, and in addition to more than 50,000 lay judges, circa 230,000 members of conflict commissions and 54,000 members of arbitration commissions are actively involved in jurisdiction, their rights having been expanded by the new law on the social courts. In 1980, they held more than 80,000 sessions on labor law litigation, misdemeanors and improprieties, plain civil law litigations and irregularities. And then there were collective counsels, public prosecutors and defense attorneys taking part in almost 90 percent of court proceedings in our state. Trade union representatives are involved in 85 percent of all labor law litigations before the kreis courts. Those are impressive figures suggesting the growing influence by the workers class and all working people on enforcing legality and socialist justice.

The activities of the workers class in enforcing the law in an area that is highly essential for their ordinary working day, labor safety and health protection, can be grasped, e.g., by the drop in the number of labor accidents: from 41 for every 1,000 workers in 1970 it dropped to 29 in 1980. The level of our legal order and of the inherent potentials of our social order also is attested to by our successes in fighting against crimes. We are far from minimizing crime and the effects it has on the normal, orderly rhythm of life in our country, yet the truth is that since the early 1970's, despite greater hostile attacks and attempts to export brutality, greed and other behavior patterns from the capitalist world to socialism, we have reached and kept a remarkably low crime rate. In 1981, some 122,000 crimes were recorded. That number is slightly below the average of the years between 1970 and 1979. More and more citizens take a public stand against law violations in public. The capitalist countries, on the other hand, have experienced for many years, and with increasing vehemence, a crime explosion which gradually--visibly most clearly first in the United States--is deforming all social life. The rate the FRG reached in 1981, of circa 4 million crimes, also is terrifying.

#### Main Trends in the Effectiveness of Socialist Law

The 10th party congress made a special point of further consolidating law and legality. The focus in the Central Committee report on three chief trends in the effectiveness of our law deserves special attention:

- the protection of the people's accomplishments from all attacks by the class enemy,
- the contribution socialist law makes to forming truly socialist interhuman relations, and
- the contribution to solving economic tasks.<sup>2</sup>

The protection of the people's accomplishments has grown in importance because of the confrontation policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles and the subversive activities of imperialist intelligence services. The People's Chamber

has created the necessary legislative prerequisites for resolute state reaction to inimical onslaughts. Not only the organs of justice know that the demand by the 10th party congress to allow no one to touch the socialist state places a binding demand on their activity. Each communist, each state and economic manager and of course every citizen himself bear a high responsibility for unstintingly conforming with the close connection between strictly abiding by order, security and legality and the struggle against the class enemy's designs in diversion. We shall not forget the warning Lenin expressed in August 1919 in a letter to the workers and peasants upon having defeated Kolchak: "The least illegality, the least violation of the Soviet order, is a gap exploited at once by the working people's enemies."<sup>3</sup>

In stressing the role of law in the shaping of socialist interhuman relations at the 10th party congress, Comrade Erich Honecker was talking about the inherent connection between law, socialist ethics and the socialist way of life. In many collectives in our country that connection is already realized in full awareness. Such moral traits as honesty, a sense of responsibility and performance dedication are increasingly being molded and fostered by the obedience to duties and the guarding of rights. This on the whole so very successful social balance-sheet is, however, still encumbered in some places by such attitudes as egoism or lack of labor discipline and initiative. That makes the conclusion compelling to elevate the influence of law on the norms and habits of conduct that exist in society--without ever forgetting that the law can "never be higher than the economic structure of society and the cultural development it gives rise to."<sup>4</sup> That precisely makes the example set by the communists and a vivid law propaganda that takes the experience of men and their grown educational and cultural level into account as indispensable as is our rigor in dealing with law violations.

Ethicists and jurists underscore the intensity in the interactions between law and ethics in socialism. Our law is infused with principles such as granting the working people their personal rights and respecting their dignity, the unity of rights and duties, and the responsibility each working person has for the quality of his work. All that follows from the fact that the GDR citizen is a working citizen who shares in the exercise of power and in the ownership in social values. These principles distinguish our law in principle from bourgeois law that is dictated by the private ownership in the means of production and has raised profiteering and egoism into predominant legal principles. DIE ZEIT, bemoaning the fact that the "self-realization" in which the FRG citizens are engaged contained nothing of consequence to the public but merely "an aggressive protection of an individual sphere, as untouched as possible,"<sup>5</sup> hit it on the head in describing the moral stance of the ruling circles and their conception of law. To our conception of law, however, petty arrangements enforced in the citizens' personal lives are as alien as insistence on one's own rights without considering the duties to society or the rights and interests of other citizens. The unity of rights and duties is among the central themes in our law propaganda.

#### Law Serving High Performance Improvements

In conformity with the high place value of economics in our country's social development, growing weight attaches to the growing contribution law can make



to economic performance improvements. It ensures the primacy of overall social interests in the economy over narrowly defined enterprise or territorial interests and, through organizational rules and the fixing of clear responsibilities, fosters the course of the economic reproduction process according to plan and the most sparing use of resources. Law is an element of democratic centralism in our country and indispensable for the stable and successful functioning of our socialist planned economy. Recently, through new legal regulations such as the contract law and the ground utilization decree, the rights and duties of the enterprises, combines and state organs have been further extended in conformity with the requirements for the 10th party congress economic strategy. Controls on the observance of law regulations are being intensified.

In the new contract law, many general rules are drawn from the practical experiences of the combines in their shaping their cooperation relations and requirements resulting from our intensification are written into law. The development of mandatory rules for the coordination contract, e.g., which is intended to enhance the economic efficacy of science and technology, the focusing on precisely deadlines, at the most monthly, delivery schedules, the duty to offer temporarily unused basic assets, through utilization contracts, to other economic units, and finally the regulations on ensuring the unity of plan, balance and contract--all this of course does not come of and by itself. High effectiveness of mass political activities by the party organizations holds the key to having those responsible on all levels of the economy and of the state recognize and consistently enforce the contract law as an expression of the power of the workers class and its economic strategy.

There are many sides and aspects to using the law for big economic performance improvements. Of special importance is the contribution that comes from a strict observance and prudent use of labor law. Industrial labor regulations prepared carefully on the basis of the Labor Code promote labor organization and discipline. A close connection between personal and social interests in socialist rationalization is the purpose of using modification, delegation and qualification contracts in enterprises. Various combines, e.g. the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine, have achieved very good results in this. There alone, more than 2,000 jobs were cut back by October 1981. Thereby workers could be used for operating other installations in the combine. But frequently such rationalization measures impinge seriously on the working people's personal lives: they may have to leave a familiar work collective or start training that may be very extensive, or their shifts may change or their commuting arrangements. It proves that the Schwedt collectives have been very prudent in their indoctrination and have stayed strictly with the Labor Code that out of changing more than 2,000 jobs there have thus far been only two cases that came before the conflict commission, and not a single case before the labor court. Managers must be fully informed about the labor law; greater systematic skill especially in this field is indispensable for it.

#### Consolidating Legality--An Overall Social Task

Socialist law does not amount to declarations of intent. It comes into its own by becoming truly the yardstick for conduct in life. That raises the question

on the guarantees for observing the law, i.e. the enforcing of socialist legality. Our party has always paid great attention to that, never regarding this task as an exclusive responsibility of special state organs, the organs of justice, for instance. That is why the 10th party congress made a special point of the citizens' activities and work collectives' initiatives in observing the law. The identity between social interests and the fundamental interests of the citizens in our state thus is not only reflected by the substance of our law but also--granted all differentiations--by the stand the individual citizen takes toward the law and his legal obligations.

Special importance must be attributed to the efforts in enterprises and residential areas on behalf of exemplary order and security, a movement generated a little more than 10 years ago in the workers class of Halle Bezirk. Today it contributes perceptibly to our fine overall economic result within the framework of socialist competition, through a careful handling of the people's wealth, through improved fire, labor and breakdown protection, and through the collectives' heightened vigilance and intolerance of law violations. More and more working people care for the protection and maintenance of products which--to quote Lenin--do not benefit them personally or the ones close to them, but those removed from them, i.e. all of society.<sup>6</sup> The higher demands made on the entire economy and the struggle for the all-round fulfilment of the 1982 national economic plan compel us, however, at present to apply in the enterprises still higher criteria in the struggle for exemplary order, discipline and security, more concretely still to formulate the obligations of the individuals and the whole collective in line with the specific conditions of the reproduction process, and strengthen managerial and trade union assistance.

Interesting also are the positions on law evolving outside the production sphere in regulating rural and urban public life. Many towns and communities have revised or reorganized their municipal and communal regulations in recent years. The citizens were much involved in this in the communities and urban residential areas. It expresses the greater needs for cleanliness, order and safety in one's surroundings. It also reflects the readiness to take a hand in enforcing the new municipal and communal regulations. To make a more effective use of them still, we must reinforce the cooperation between the state organs and the social forces and use more often the means of public criticism in cases of disorderly conduct.

Making the socialist law prevail cannot rely merely on persuasion, important though that is. "Part of it also is that each law violation invites an adequate reaction."<sup>7</sup> Adequate does not mean indiscriminate or unreasonable severity. Crimes are under sanctions different from, say, infringements of municipal regulations. Crimes against state security, serious crimes against the economy or the life and health of the citizens are under injunctions different from so-called petty crimes. Yet it is always a matter of solving all real crimes against legality and to bring the criminal to justice, wherever or whoever he may be, by using much discrimination. The better we can do that, the more effective prevention will be. A special responsibility for that is borne by the heads of enterprises and work collectives, the local state organs, the control organs such as the Workers' and Farmers' Inspectorate and State Audit, and the organs of security and justice.

With good reason has the work of the justice organs been paid tribute to at the 10th party congress. They ensure the reliable protection from inimical assaults and criminal elements, punish law violations and settle litigations in our citizens' interest. In talking about criminal cases it would be wrong to underestimate the weight of family, labor and civil suits in our court activities. Their total number is much higher than that of criminal cases and keeps increasing, compared with the 1970's, even though slowly. Such proceedings also, if effectively conducted and, above all, settled correctly and persuasively for the citizens, "create comfort and stimulate performance."<sup>8</sup>

That higher demands are being made on the justice organs is due to the inevitabilities of the class struggle and the dynamics of our social, especially our economic, development. Their purpose is a still greater contribution to reinforcing state security, preventing crimes, and educating convicted citizens. That calls for clear, party-minded positions about acts aimed at disturbing our citizens' peaceful life. It also calls for more of an effort, above and beyond just penalties for each offender in accordance with the law, to spot and eliminate the crime-facilitating conditions. Especially in this great opportunities exist for effectively reducing crimes when the local state organs, the enterprises, the LPG's and all other social forces work together. Much depends on the prosecuting attorneys and the judges being familiar with the public processes in their territories and the people's living conditions. In this context increasing importance also accrues to the publicity work done by judges and prosecuting attorneys, their appearance in enterprises and before young people, crime investigation analysis in work and management collectives, and court reporting. Publicity work must be preventive in effect and instil caution and vigilance through its information.

#### The Systematic Development of the Order of Law

In line with the role that the subjective factor plays in the shaping of the developed socialist society, the systematic development of the socialist order of law holds a firm place in the SED Program. In our republic's legislation one finds the historic optimism of the working class party and its capability, through making use of the people's experiences, to spot the newly ripened contradictions arising along the course of social advances and in time point to ways to resolve them by means of law. Our basic laws, the Civil Code, the Labor Code, the new contract law or the LPG law, depend on careful analyses of the status of our productive forces and production relations and the effectiveness of legal relations. There are also areas where new juridical solutions of principle are first introduced and "tried out"<sup>9</sup> in practice as instructions or decrees before they are made into laws.

Socialist laws address the citizens, mold their conduct, shape their law consciousness. Not a specific legal machinery it is that principally enforces them but the state and economic managers, the social organizations, the social courts, and all citizens' responsible action and conduct do. That makes high demands on formulating legal regulations clearly. It makes necessary to put together what belongs together, avoid burdening law regulations with superfluous detail or complicated references, and place the principles of the regulations in clear relief.

Perfecting our order of law is a permanent task. That is true both in major and minor respects. We shall of course fully exhaust the advantages given by the stability of law regulations. But then also, law regulations no longer in line with the state of development have to be revised or reformulated. This especially assigns importance to the long-term legislative planning by the Council of Ministers. Regular testing of the law in force by the central state organs enhances the authority of socialist law because it saves us from getting laws that are no longer functional. In the future too all efforts will be made to strengthen law and legality, so as to reliably protect the working people's accomplishments from any attacks by the class enemy, help shape truly socialist interhuman relations, and give a big boost to our course for the good of the people tried and tested in life.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "SED Central Committee Conference With the Kreis First Secretaries-- Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13/14 February 1982, p 1.
2. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 119.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Letter to the Workers and Peasants on the Occasion of the Victory over Kolchak," "Werke" (Works), Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, pp 549-549.
4. Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 21.
5. DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 10 October 1980, p 37.
6. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, p 417.
7. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., loc. cit.
3. Ibid.
9. E.g., the basic ideas in the 26 January 1978 decree on ensuring the unity between plan and contract in concluding and implementing economic contracts were, after longtime practical experiences, adopted into the contract law of 26 March 1982.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BOOK ON SED CONTRIBUTION TO THEORETICAL WORK REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 9, Sep 82 (signed to press 11 Aug 82)  
pp 974-975

[Review by Prof Dr Gerhard Rossmann, department head, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; of book "Erfolgreiche Jahre--Der Beitrag der SED zu Theorie und Politik der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Successful Years--SED's Contribution to Theory and Policy of the Developed Socialist Society), collectively authored under supervision of Prof Dr Otto Reinhold; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1982]

[Text] Presented by a collective of noted social scientists under the supervision of Comrade Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, this volume, with a view to the challenges of the 1980's, analyses the experiences and insights gained in the decade since the Eighth SED Congress--a period full of dynamics and profound changes in all domains of society and in the life of each citizen in our country. These changes--as the authors show in many ways--have caused the extensive theoretical, strategic and practical political work performed by the SED Central Committee and its secretary general, Comrade Erich Honecker. Precise analyses and theoretical generalizations, a realistic strategy and its purposeful implementation were responsible for our people to be able to advance on the path of socialist revolution and for our party's being able to make a creative contribution to the Marxist-Leninist store of international experiences and insights.

The focal point of the contributions is to show how the party based its strategy on the general inevitabilities in the construction of the new society under changing conditions in the 1970's and early 1980's and is consistently implementing it through its practical struggle in conformity with the conditions and possibilities in our country. Proceeding from there an analysis is given of how the SED, together with the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, contributed to the elaboration of the conception on the developed socialist society. Thus new theoretical insights were gained about the relation between socialism and communism as the two phases of the uniform communist society, with which the volume deals from a theoretical and a practical political viewpoint.



The authors elucidate principles and main aspects in the successful extension of the socialist revolution in the GDR, mainly through the SED Program, the party resolutions and Erich Honecker's theoretical works. The process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes proceeding with the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, it is being shown, always meant a higher qualitative development in conformity with new historic conditions and requirements. Proceeding from there, the authors examine the consequences this revolutionary process has had for the leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, socialist state power, the alliance among all classes and strata, the socialist production relations and the management and planning of the economy, as well as for democratic centralism and ideology and culture. Through militant issue-taking it is being shown that the party's leadership role is not a subjective arrogation by the communists but an objective necessity by which it conforms through daily activities to the working class interests.

Like a red thread through all contributions goes the discussion of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy which, in view of the close interaction between economic and social progress and the release effected thereby of new energies, creative capacities and initiatives, has turned out to be the key issue in the shaping of the developed socialist society. The unity of economic and social policy is an enormous impulse to the development of our workers and farmers state. That affects all aspects of our life, as the volume demonstrates, and expresses itself particularly in the upswing of our economy and in effective measures, perceptible directly to everyone, for the further elevation of the people's material and cultural standard of living and our consistent peace policy.

The authors grant much space to the party's theoretical work in determining the paths toward the implementation of the main task. They pay primary attention to the elaboration and specification of the theoretical concept for socialist intensification. Its tasks and objectives are as much dealt with in detail as the requirements and consequences resulting from the altered domestic and foreign reproduction conditions, crystallizing in the 10 key points of the economic strategy for the 1980's the 10th party congress has issued. A key role in it goes to the scientific-technical revolution. The authors describe the new phase in the scientific-technical revolution which calls for a higher degree of combining the advantages of socialism with its accomplishments within the scope of the national economy. From there they derive a qualitatively new, direct and productive interaction between scientific-technical progress, socialist rationalization, reconstruction and modernization, which opens new dimensions for the working people's innovations and creativity; and new it is because it is more all-inclusive.

In an inseparable connection with conceiving, specifying and implementing its economic strategy, an important theoretical achievement fully borne out in practice, the SED also took an active part in elaborating the theoretical problems of socialist economic integration and determining the practical tasks and steps in this long-range process. The volume analyzes the conditions and requirements for socialist economic integration and of some of the processes

which it is based and from there explains basic concerns and features in SED policy on steadily reinforcing the economic and scientific-technical specialization and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries.

A separate contribution examines the effects of the party's economic and social strategy on the social structure of our society and its qualitative shape. It demonstrates and documents the consolidation of the alliance between the classes and strata and their continued rapprochement on the basis of the working class ideals.

Its efforts' outcome is evidence that the SED always keeps the unity of politics, economics and ideology in mind and pays proper attention to the mobilizing capacity of working class ideology. Most contributions, two of them in particular, explore the experiences in the development and dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist theory and world-outlook in the unity of all their components and in spreading intellectual-cultural life in our country. This is done with a view to the much more complicated conditions at present and in the future, which increase the importance of ideology and of cultural and intellectual life in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in the confrontation with imperialism.

With the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, the formation process of the socialist German nation also entered a new phase. In the concluding contribution of the volume the manner is recalled in which the SED since its eighth party congress has, in confrontation with FRG imperialism, rendered more precise its theoretical concept on the birth and growth and shaping of the socialist German nation and its essential features and developmental prospects, and determined its own irreplaceable function in the shaping of the developed socialist society and the gradual transition, later, to communism.

By making the fullest use of the rich theoretical content of the party congress documents and Central Committee sessions, and of the studies by Comrade Erich Honecker, this volume gives the reader an impressive picture of the SED's extremely successful efforts throughout a decade, toward materializing the meaning of socialism in our country. Thanks to skillfully synthesizing fundamental historic experiences and insights, the complicated development conditions at present, and the future requirements, the authors' collective provides more theoretically sound knowledge of the theoretical, ideological and practical-political armor the party has forged since the eighth party congress, supported by many facts and figures and in aggressive confrontation with imperialist ideology. The working class party's purposeful efforts guarantee a successful coping with the challenges of the 1980's as well.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LISTINGS, SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 9, Sep 82 (signed to press 11 Aug 82)  
'Resumes' addendum

[Text] The Topic: Theory and Practice of Our Socialist Planned Economy

"The Economic Strategy of Our Party--Expression of Dynamic Development of the Socialist Planned Economy" (pp 873-884), lead article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for economic affairs; explains this strategy as a vital organism marked by increasing strength and improvement.

"Planned Economy and Socialist Democracy" (pp 885-891), by Gerhard Schuerer, chairman, State Planning Commission; candidate member, SED Politburo; explains how the unity of democratic centralism and socialist democracy becomes effective in this strategy.

[PLEASE NOTE: Translations of the two above listed articles are published together under the heading, "Mittag, Schuerer Call for Creativity Within Planned Economy," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

"Responsibility and Risk in Implementation of Scientific-Technical Progress" (pp 892-897), by Dr Heinz Wedler, economist, general director, VEB Microelectronics Combine, Erfurt; points out that this strategy leads to increased productivity by accelerating scientific-technical progress.

"The Power of Socialist Competition" (pp 898-903), by Horst Heintze, social scientist, economist, member, SED Central Committee; presidium member, secretary, National Executive Committee, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB); socialist competition, says the author, in line with the economic strategy must be fully utilized in the struggle for intensified performance.

[PLEASE NOTE: Translations of the two articles by Wedler and Heintze, respectively, are published together under the heading, "'Rethinking' by Managers Needed to Promote Risk-Taking, Efficiency," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

"In the Struggle for Increased Efficiency in Agriculture" (pp 904-908), by Prof Dr Gerald Schmidt, economist, study group director, Institute for Agricultural Economics, GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; focuses on the need to produce more from available resources for the benefit of all.

[PLEASE NOTE: A translation of Gerald Schmidt's article is published under the heading, "Measures Sought to Cut Expenditures for Agricultural Sector," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

#### Communist Education and Young People' Level of Cultural Life

[Summary of article by Dr Hartmut Koenig, candidate member, SED Central Committee: secretary, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ); and Dr Siegfried Ransch, economist, staff employee, SED CC; article written in preparation for the FDJ cultural conference, scheduled to take place in Leipzig, 21-22 October 1982; pp 923-929]

[Text] It is part of communist education to provide for a substantial intellectual-cultural life and a healthy and happy atmosphere wherever young people study, work or spend their leisure. What are the initiatives coming out of the FDJ for mobilizing all young people, add to the wealth of material and intellectual values in our culture, and appropriate all that is beautiful and valuable? What requirements arise from that particularly for the FDJ groups and basic organizations, the youth brigades, youth clubs and artistic activity, including the promotion of young talent?

#### Good Designing--An Economic and Cultural Task of Great Importance

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Martin Kelm, state secretary, director, Office for Industrial Design; pp 930-933. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Good Design Important for Materials Savings, Efficiency," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Good design contributes to improving our people's material and cultural standard of living and to strengthening our country's economic capacity.

Which design principles are coming more to the fore while cultural-aesthetic needs become increasingly more diversified? What can be done to make design improvements prevail more effectively in the combines?

#### A Significant Milestone in the Struggle of the Vietnamese People

[Summary of article by Juergen Fritz, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 940-946]

[Text] In an exceedingly significant phase of social development in Vietnam, the Fifth Vietnamese Communist Party Congress undertook a thorough analysis of the country's revolutionary processes. The great successes achieved in the heroic struggle by the Vietnamese people and the guideline issued by the party congress for coping with the serious economic and social problems. Basic requirements for strengthening the CPV leadership role.

#### Laotian Communists Prepared for Future Tasks

[Summary of article by Dieter Doering, social scientist, GD ambassador to Lao People's Democratic Republic; pp 947-951]

[Text] The balance-sheet drawn up at the Third Lao People's Revolutionary Party Congress on the fundamental change in the life of the Lao people after the victory over imperialist aggression and feudal suppression. The first successes achieved under extremely difficult conditions in the construction of the new order, and the objectives for the years ahead. Growing demands made on the leadership role of the LRPP, the Marxist-Leninist vanguard in the fraternal Southeast Asian country.

#### 'Strategic Alliance' USA-Israel

[Summary of article by Dr Karin Fuchs, lecturer, Institute for International Labor Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 952-959]

[Text] What is the background of the murderous eradication campaign long planned for the Near East by Israel and the most aggressive U.S. imperialist circles? The struggle by the progressive forces against the adventuristic hegemonial drive of the United States, and the just struggle by the Lebanese people and the Palestinian people under PLO leadership, relies on the worldwide protests against Israeli aggression and on the internationalist solidarity of the socialist states--headed by the Soviet Union--making their contribution to peace in the Near East.



## What Are the Causes for Mass Unemployment in the Capitalist Countries?

[Summary of 'Today's World of Capitalism' feature article by Dr Joachim Nitsche, economist, CDR Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW); pp 960-965]

[Text] Taking issue with the endeavor of the corporation bosses and their retinue in denying capitalism's responsibility for massive unemployment and instead blaming the workers and their labor unions for it, particularly the purportedly excessive wages and the state's social welfare expenditures. The attempts by the ruling circles at pushing the increasing costs of unemployment onto the shoulders of the working people by sharpening acceptability regulations, and at depressing the general wage level. What necessary instant measures for fighting against unemployment have been placed on the agenda?

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## CHANGING VALUES EFFECT ON YOUTH ANALYZED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 10, Oct 82 pp 23-26

[Article by Eva Ancsel, professor at Lorand Eotvos University: "Changing Values and the Youth"]

[Text] Reality has human meaning to the extent that it is apprehended in an evaluative aspect, and only in this case can it be experienced. We receive reality with affirmation or denial, with forbearance, with forgiving or sarcastic laughter, with wonder or antipathy, but in an evaluating way.

When I speak about changing values, "change" is too soft an expression for the past generation of time. It does not express the process filled with such shocks that this metamorphosis of values has been, in the course of the extinction of certain values and the distortion and transformation of others. And the birth of new values, sometimes born before their time, and the fate of premature values. If I consider the changes in values to be such a dramatic process, what is behind it? In part it is the objectively delayed process of Hungarian history, as a result of which time was, as it were, compressed after 1945. Contributing to this was a--probably inevitable--subjectivist, voluntarist urging, which tried to give a push to the so long delayed development. Even today, we bear the consequences of this urging. And if we consider that within one generation several millions of people changed their residence and occupation--and thus their customs and way of life--it is understandable that the earth moved beneath values.

It is true that never in history has progress harmonized with the development of values. The condition for complete harmony--a higher formation and an accompanying higher level of values--exists only in an illusory view of history. In this regard also reality is characterized by uneven development. At a certain level, in a given phase of development, and especially in a socialist society synchronicity or the discrepancy between historical progression and the development of values can threaten progress. What I am thinking of is that the most essential nature of a socialist society cannot unfold if the development of values is not roughly synchronous with the other processes of progress, at least approximately. I think that we are struggling with such a problem and, naturally, it affects the youth much more sensitively because--in an understandable way, as Hegel noted--young people are accustomed to regarding themselves as the depository of ideals, so their

view of history is a moralizing one. If we stick with the Marxist idea that morality is the distillate of social changes then the youth are the first to absorb this distillate, without being able to understand or articulate those social processes the distillate of which they are absorbing and on the basis of which they judge.

The development of values is least of all an independent process; it does not take place in a separate sphere. It is important to stress this because it follows from this that one cannot influence the development of values directly. One can try, but in my opinion it will be accompanied by negative consequences. Values can fulfill their objective social role only if they become internal; without interiorization the goal of realizing them on a mass scale is illusory. So a voluntarist urging can do nothing more than create such serious negativities as servilism and hypocrisy, declaring a facile agreement with the values mediated by the ideology at the level of a declaration, values which are distorted by this quasi "acceptance."

This "second" asynchronicity or gap is especially burdensome, consciously and emotionally, to the youth. They feel a revulsion if they must note a discrepancy between the declared and actually realized or the announced and practiced values. There have been such problems and there are such problems today. Tormenting asymmetries between what is declared and what is practiced are experienced by those young people who permit themselves to be affected by both ideals and reality, and dare undertake the risk of carrying out the confrontation in their awareness.

If we are to understand this and think about it, jointly and fundamentally, we must recall in outline how the new, socialist values appeared to this generation in the beginning. I consider it unavoidable that they appeared as values conceived in fanaticism, and I consider this a consequence of the delayed historical development. What consequences, not eradicable even today, accompanied this conception? The fanaticism meant that they were coupled with the denial of virtually every old value. We did not know what we were doing when we seriously thought that it was possible to "erase the past," with all its traditions. And although this did not succeed, this voluntarist experiment had negative consequences in a social reality which carried with it valuable traditions as well. And this happened in a world which snook very many values for other reasons. Not only did this fanatic presentation of values have such a relationship to old values, it ignored the fact that people must find themselves in time and to do this--if the time in which they live is not to have holes in it--they must preserve the continuity worth preserving, even with all the discontinuities.

The idea of the new man, a mythical idea of a new man to be developed on a mass scale, was coupled with this undialectical denial of the old values. Subjectivism and arbitrariness ruled in judgment to such an extent that completely opposite attributes and behaviors could be the basis for serious condemnations.

At least two important types must be distinguished in the fanatic value world--messianistic and bureaucratic sectarianism. The latter is built on

entirely different illusions, among other things on nonheroic illusions. Stalinistic sectarianism is built on heroic illusions, in a certain sense historically justified, warmed by real enthusiasm, while the bureaucratic type poses unrealistic demands in a relentless but spiritless way.

The leading value was collectivity, but not in the Marxist sense. The reigning community model subordinated individuals to itself, rather than providing the conditions for their unfolding. Devotion and self-submission, without reservation, became a requirement, which cannot be regarded as a socialist value.

I hardly need speak of that break, of those shocks, which overtook the generation not yet middle aged, actually a generation still young, not quite a decade after the liberation. But there were several alternatives to this shock, or rather to the denouement of this shock. I call the cathartic alternative the possibility that, purified by the shock, people came out ready for renewal, preserving the truly socialist values. In this renewal trust took the place of suspicion, persuasion took the place of administrative tools and coercion, and thus there took place, in my judgment, a great and positive value change.

This was positive even if it is not possible to measure how many were capable of not only choosing this alternative--in a time which was not short--but also of following it through. But when this positive value change took place and when, at the beginning of the 1960's, an emotion of renewal developed among those who were then 30 or 40 years old, this word "renewal" did not have the same connotation among 20 year olds. Those in their twenties at that time did not entirely understand, for they could not experience, what it was that could and must be renewed. So I think that, in the generation of time which has passed, the first generational fracture line developed then, and the changing of generations became a matter filled with conflicts.

The great period of prosperity which began in the mid-1960's was also accompanied by new value uncertainties. Many experienced the material improvement with an unjustified bad conscience, among other things because the ideological opposition to petit bourgeois attitudes ignored the fact that love of family, diligence and thrift were values, even if they were, so to speak, petit bourgeois.

Coming to the present, I think that for several years democratic values, transmitted by ideology and politics, have come to the fore in an extraordinarily gratifying way. I will not list what these are, but it has happened with the values of socialist democracy, and is happening at the present time, that there is not synchronicity--to use a delicate expression--between their declaration and their practice. We are not near to being able to realize the very seriously thought out democratic aspirations to the degree that society has an objective need for this realization or to the degree that a subjective need for them is felt, especially by the youth, if not by them alone. I consider it a painful snare that now, when society has an

objective need for serious democratism, when the political leadership has recognized and formulated the need, and when young people are demanding independence, scope for action, knowledge and the promotion of talent, we find that realization is being held up in everyday practice, in many cases in the schools, places of work and in the institutions of the "highest" spheres. If someone really makes use or wants to make use of these values, if he really takes the initiative, then in many cases he finds himself up against people who have themselves declared the socialist democracy which he now wants to exercise.

I will give only one example; unfortunately, I could give many. I am happy that we introduced the youth parliaments, but I cannot be happy when I think that while this country is virtually flooded with youth and student parliaments--all of Hungarian youth are involved in them--if someone, a student or young worker, is affected by an injustice in school or on the job then there is no organizational possibility or any possibility with a chance of success for defending himself. There is no youth parliament whose rights extend to giving such communal protection to those deserving of it. This is an elementary problem, and until it is solved it will be an obstacle to the creation of community.

And here it must be said that I see not only organizational and other obstacles to having declarations and practice come closer together; in addition we have an extraordinarily hard inheritance which we have not been able to overcome. That community model which would provide the individual with the conditions for the development of his abilities makes way with difficulty as a result of the stubborn survival of authoritarian behavior. This is why "self-realization" has become a fashionable slogan, a repulsive one to me, in certain youth groups. To the extent that this concept expresses a demand for purely individualistic activity independent of association it is not a socialist concept. What we are finding is that without some sort of new community building work it will not be possible to progress. Without a youth politics which ensures action, and not mere activity, which creates the conditions for action, and does not manufacture action programs, it will not be possible to bridge over the discrepancy cited, the discrepancy in this regard between practice and the socialist democratic value system. It is no accident that activity very frequently figures as a leading value even in the documents; but activity is not action. Activity does not involve making decisions, choices accompanied by risk, assuming responsibility.

In the path of the entirely just action demands of young people stand truly obsolete values, traditions without value, which have proven refractory for the past 35 years, and which are still operating today. One such obsolete value--naturally it does not declare itself--is the authoritarian value system, a value system, which I consider alien to socialism, which centers on obedience or passive loyalty. Both of them, passive loyalty and the corresponding authoritarian value system, are showing great ability to survive.

But even this formulation is not precise, because the authoritarian behavior in Hungary today is not the same as it was 45 or 55 years ago; it has gone



through a metamorphosis. We must resist the lure of the analogy, for example, that our schools bear traces of the Prussian school system. This analogy is false. The aboriginal authoritarian behavior was different because there was a value system behind the style which tolerated no contradiction, even if we have every reason to reject it. What is most alarming today is that frequently there is nothing behind the authoritarian behavior, or what is behind it is merely a silencing of contradiction. Those behaving in an authoritarian manner do not believe in their own truth, because they no longer believe that they have any truth. They themselves cannot tell you what it is they are defending tooth and nail. Perhaps they are scourging the petit bourgeois attitude with their authoritarianism--because they think that this corresponds to the socialist value system. This seems to be the most desirable enemy, and sometimes even the demand for independence can receive the petit bourgeois epithet. It would be better to scourge the petit bourgeoisie less, and it would be even better if petit bourgeois impulses did not sometimes guide the scourging.

So a generation of teachers is struggling with value uncertainty, although they try to hide this from the youth, who nevertheless feel the false notes and recoil from the lack of seriousness. If they see that the values lie, it can only feed cynicism in them.

Values are changing even in our day. But it must be seen that the same values are not valid in different dimensions. It is infinitely important, for example, that we try to realize rationality with great consistency in the economic sphere. But this does not mean, it cannot mean, that rationality should be the leading value in every other sphere. If we extrapolated it, for example, to human relations we would come to the conclusion that the number of minutes devoted to conversation within families should be reduced further, since this does not prove to be goal rational. This is only one example of this sort of value confusion. If we recognize the urgent need for the realization of some value in one sphere of society we frequently fall, like neophytes, into the error of considering it valid in another dimension.

In regard to values we are living in a developmental phase when we must see that just because we cannot progress straight toward the desired goals today we cannot, for that reason, eliminate them from the horizon. We cannot make all equal today but rather must differentiate, we cannot eliminate inequalities, but the equality of opportunity remains a value. We must implement the performance principle, but a man cannot be judged exclusively on the basis of his performance. And I could continue the list. We are living in an age of "just because" and "we must still"; but values would not be values if they coincided with reality completely. They would have no power to make people see, to prompt them to action. We should not lose sight of those values which cannot be realized yet today, not because we are feeble or insufficiently modern organizationally, but rather because we are living in a stage of historical development which does not make the realization of certain values timely or possible. "Just because" this is true, "we must still" preserve these values; otherwise we would not see and could not judge reality.

PSYCHOLOGIST VIEWS ATTITUDES, PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 10, Oct 82 pp 27-36

[Article by Ferenc Pataki, director of the Institute of Psychology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: "The Generation Change and the Continuity of Socialist Development"]

[Text] I wish to make analytical observations--of a propositional type dispensing with detailed reasoning--of a single segment of the proliferating subject area of youth and society. This segment is a somewhat more fundamental and independent investigation of the questions of generation change.

Wherein lies the essence of the question? That is, how can the historical continuity of a society's existence, the maintenance of its continuity and unique qualities be realized, and their further development, if the generations that live in it are constantly changing, because of familiar biological laws, and unfortunately do not exist continuously. It may appear that putting the question in this way is rather abstract and falls far from our immediate practical problems. Well, I would above all like to refute this concept.

If we were to judge the question as resolved on basis of our historical and theoretical deliberations and unworthy of a fundamental and many-sided investigation, we could presumably be satisfied--let us say--with a statement which we could summarize as follows: "The question of the continuity of generations which nowadays causes the greatest concern in the capitalist world is successfully solved under socialist conditions. Youth enthusiastically accepts and defends the principles of socialism, appropriates these at a new and higher level, and continues the building of socialism which their fathers and grandfathers started."

Well, if the question were so extremely simple--solvable as it were by virtue of the realization of social automatism--we certainly would not have to ponder for long over it. But naturally reality is much more complicated, multifaceted, and charged with contradictions.

My starting proposition would be that the scientific problems of the relations of generations in society are relatively unelaborated in Marxist social theory. We lack the manifold critical analysis and a comprehensive theoretical generalization of socialist experience, which is already a number of

decades old. I see one reason for this in the fact that the subject area is burdened with unfavorable traditions which have not been worked out adequately to this day. From this also stems the fact that frequently there is a strange, defensive attitude in its treatment, as if we had devoted our main efforts not to the "generation war," the generation conflict but only to defending the general theoretical positions of Marxism in respect to which ones are, in fact, the determining factors of social movement and development. Meanwhile, however, the positive theoretical explanation of the question and the clarification of the actual nature of the undeniable generation tensions and contradictions that accompany a change of generations appears to have receded into the background.

This particular drawback to the handling of the pertinent problems extends all the way back to the disputes with Trotskyism ("youth is the party's barometer," that is the most reliable expression of political trends). The traditions of sharp and determined protest against "avantgardism" were also very much alive in the illegal Hungarian movement. But let me also recall that the autumn 1948 resolution on the people's colleges emphasized the same problem of avantgardism as a threatening negative phenomenon. All these things make their influence felt to this day.

The picture was further complicated by the fact that middle-class social science worked up the well-known events of the 1960's and the phenomena of the "youth rebellion" by reviving the theory of the "generation war" and its energetic and aggressive actualization. We can track it in the broader literature of social science and especially in youth sociology. Moreover, the middle-class political forces themselves tried, and still are trying, to treat the possibilities and threats latent in the political dynamism of youth with peculiar duality--on one hand with characteristic "enticement" and integration efforts and on the other hand with repression and manipulative procedures.

Pompidou stated publicly at the time: "It is necessary that young people question everything!" Giscard later added to this by saying that the youth are today the main force in political debate. Sartre very rightly pointed at the time to the other aspect of this "enticement" when he stated that the efforts directed at turning youth from politics are at least as vividly obvious. One way of doing this is to make the youth into consumers, to develop a characteristic "youth consumption," and to throw into the balance the "secret bait" of consumption goods. Another is the propaganda which indefatigably and by mimicking pity depicts youth as disillusioned, cynical, politically impossible and useless. The youth themselves finally believe that they have found themselves in this false mirror.

The duality (that is, political "courtship" and at the same time desocialization and consumption depoliticization) outlined above in the treatment of the social and political dynamisms latent in youth was perceptible to the very end of the period following World War II, although the emphases may have been entirely elsewhere depending on concrete situations.

handling all these things, I believe it is a timely task of Marxist thought to grasp the generation problem primarily in its positive form instead of regarding the solution as purely a problem of criticism. That is to say, it should strive primarily to give a comprehensive, extensive and valid answer to all the question marks in the processes of generation change occurring in the movement of socialist reality. And here it is at the same time important that we should always consider youth questions in relation to the total movement of society, and that we should not regard it as an autonomous sphere of existence, but at the same time recognize its relatively independent phenomenal world and treat it accordingly.

We have need of this all the more because, in wake of the provocative facts of reality, views can easily infiltrate into the "white patches" (areas where information is nonexistent) which can be disputable for fundamental reasons. From this point of view, one of Ernst Fischer's works, which may still be regarded as Marxist, is extremely instructive: namely, "The Problems of the Young Generation," which also appeared in Hungary at the time.<sup>1</sup> He draws a broad and graphic panorama of the "postwar" generation while frequently risking strange "over-generalizations." "Never has there been," he writes, "such a disenchanted generation, never have there been a youth which lacked to this extent all faith, hope and common goals, never have there been so many lost illusions."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it was in the eastern part of Europe, as we know, that the generation of the "bright winds" appeared.

From the viewpoint of our thought processes, however, another statement of Fischer's is more important. While he rightfully criticizes the earlier, simplified formulas, he unwittingly lets himself be caught in a trap, and although in a historical framework, he yields to the pressure of the idea of a "generation war." He writes: "...in socialist society the struggle for the new against the old becomes considerably, if not exclusively, the essential spring of social development in the form of the "generation war."<sup>3</sup> This strange tipping over, in the medium of theoretical and practical lack of clarifications, crops up again and again in the ideological and intellectual life of youth. Therefore, it is urgently necessary that we study youth affairs against the background of economic processes and social structure, and in their matrix. But it is at least equally important that we intensively analyze the political and intellectual movements occurring in youth circles, the trends, the moral and cultural developments, and that between the study of these two spheres we create a balanced ratio. This is all the more so because we cannot draw directly rectilinear conclusions from economic and sociological analyses regarding the emerging ideological-political and intellectual-cultural currents and efforts. Thus we still cannot know exactly how the present economic and sociological analyses and prognoses will be precipitated in the political dynamism and intellectual tensions of the 1980's. It is instructive that in April 1968 French public opinion researchers unanimously announced: apathy reigns among university students,

1. Gondolat Konyvkiado, 1964.

2. Gondolat Konyvkiado, 1964, p 68.

3. Gondolat Konyvkiado, 1964, p 20.

and no significant developments can be expected in the foreseeable future. I repeat that the results of these "surveys" saw the light of day one month before the celebrated May!

Certain new possibilities and compulsions are also giving us incentive to the positive solution of the theoretical and practical tasks. First of all, in all socialist countries today a "multigenerational" reality can become the subject of our theoretical and practical analysis. Therefore, we have ample experience regarding the kind of experiences that have accompanied the linking of new generations into the maintenance of the continuity of socialist processes. In this area we also have available the results of the "original capital accumulation" of intellectual and practical experiences.

Secondly, the profound, and by their nature primarily political, crises of the past decades merit special attention; these are crises in which youth always played a characteristic role (in our country and the CSSR) and plays in Poland today. The weighing of these historical experiences always provides a way to draw lessons that can be generalized.

In this connection, it may be worth discussing the question whether the generation problem, that is, the strong inclination of youth for working out the generation consciousness, is characteristic of the building up of the generation identity framework and the working out of the appropriate value system, or for the consolidated development periods of society. Or does it emerge in social crises eras and periods of sharpening conflicts? I am inclined to think that the generation problem, as a secondary tension and contradiction, is always more "visible," and more obvious in the relatively peaceful, consolidated development periods.

It is hardly accidental that the generation problem appeared in our country in the 1960's in a form linked to the concept of the "beat generation." As a consequence of the openness, and in part following foreign example, it produces a world youth subculture that can be clearly outlined, a special "nonconformist uniformity" which in its taste, style and behavior and in the form of its contacts between generations, creates new phenomena that were not experienced before. It also gives cause for the unfolding of a broad-scale debate regarding youth. For example, Andras Kovacs' film "The Ecstasy from 7 to 10" or "Time Stops" tries to capture this more sharply defined profile.

I regard what is going on in Poland, for example, as a completely different phenomenon. In political or other crisis situations young people become active en masse and participate in developments to a strikingly greater degree than their proportional numbers, they do so not primarily on the basis of "generation consciousness" and generation division but because it acts in identity with the more basic political, national and other (for example, religious) categories of world outlook. To explain why this comes about, we cannot do without all those things which have been said so frequently about the psychological-anthropological characteristics of youth.



But if we are speaking of a greater "risk-taking inclination" and the "activity" of youth, it is advisable also to take into account the psychological consequences of certain sociological facts. It is a new development that youth are outside the tight compulsions and dependency systems of social work distribution for an increasingly longer time--the great majority until the age of 18 years and a significant share until the age of 21 years.

This indispensable social moratorium is accompanied by the increasing social concentration of the young, primarily in institutions of learning. Today youth make up the groups which show the Hungarian society's greatly increasing concentration--and in fact concentration organized in institutional frameworks. This condition makes it extremely sensitive to the following of models, to the acceptance of rapidly fluctuating styles, to the effects and the imitation of emotional "contamination," because the urge to accept, receive and belong is extremely strong in young people.

Thirdly and finally, the challenge is continuous and strong that affects Marxist thinking and practice from the aspect of civil science and politics. I have already referred to this. This challenge was particularly strong in the 1950's and at the end of the 1960's. The first wave of youth research began to pick up in the second half of the 1970's in the socialist countries, then after a characteristic period of ebb it became stronger on the threshold of the 1980's, although under different conditions in the various countries.

Formerly, the pedagogical and psychological outlook prevailed, but in the most recent wave the economic, sociological and demographic outlook and means came to the forefront. Among other things, this is why I repeat with somewhat polemical sharpness: in greeting this development, we must know that the economic and purely descriptive-structural mode of analysis is truly indispensable, but is insufficient by itself for us to work out in the 1980's the lines of our social action as related to youth. If the forecasts made by the planners and economists prove correct, we can count on difficulties and tensions in the 1980's. The youth of today, however, grew up under conditions of increasing economic stability, improving living standards and social consolidation. It may be that in the near future our youth policy, like our policy as a whole, will have to deal with increasing tensions and crisis phenomena, and it will have to hold its place amid these relations. We have reason to do thinking in this direction.

In the following I would like to deal with certain aspects and new phenomena of the socialist mechanisms of the generation change. Let me emphasize that I am offering these for discussion--and even for rejection.

Even though it appears as a natural and biological event, the generation change is at all times a socio-cultural process. With some disregard for the details, there have been up to now two models in the experience of socialist societies for the passage of generation change and its social guidance. Let me call the first one the model of the organic and continuous transformation of the new generations in which conflicts and contradictions do not come about with logical necessity, but are only "mistakes" and "operational disturbances" of certain institutions, principally those designed for education.

The following consideration is latent in the background: since our social macro-relations, property relations, and organizations are of a socialist character and since a comprehensive and proliferating socialization institution system has been developed (from the nursery to the university, and from the youth movement to mass communication institutions) which are the carriers and mediators of socialist content, the rising new generations are growing up naturally under their influence. They are entering the area of social activity in a natural manner, that is to say, without any kind of competition whatever. As I have quoted: they identify under compulsion with socialist perspectives and the perspectives of their fathers and grandfathers. Of course, they also are quite differentiated and of many kinds, they offer many different kinds of identification possibilities, for they still do not of necessity represent any kind of homogenous socialist consciousness.

This mode . . . two explanatory principles as to why in reality we experience difficulty . . . and at times great tensions among youth. One is that the social institutions of socialization do not operate adequately. The other is that if we come on youth "problems" these indicate phenomena that are only partial and characteristic--and therefore they can be corrected relatively easily and must be corrected.

The first explanatory principle is frequently raised in exchanges of ideas about schools, the youth movement, and the family. We are constantly hearing that schools are not good, and the movement has become formalistic. Thus the solution also is simple: we need good schools and a good movement (let me not mention the other social educational institutions!) and then everything will be in order. But it seldom becomes a subject of systematic and open analysis as to what are the profounder social limits beyond their control which cause educational institutions to function inadequately. Or why even in outstanding schools the results of socialization are differentiated from the ideological, political, intuitive and attitudinal points of view alike.

This outlook is closely linked to a particular "autarkic" concept of the generation change, which at the same time also points to the time of origin of this concept. Namely, to that period when the socialist countries resolutely tried to isolate their internal processes from the nonsocialist world, and its undesirable influences. We thought that these influences could in practice be eliminated, and thus in our reality only those experiences and influences would exist which harmonized with our planned intentions. I do not have to assert at length that in this respect we have undergone a radical change in the past two and one-half decades. In our country, too, this is taking place in the medium of an increasingly international experience of the generation change, effect systems, models, trends, and amid the competition of ideas and perspectives. These effects are mediated and kept alive by increasingly expanding personal relations. The generation change is taking place more and more from many points of view in a "uniting world" and in its constantly expanding news and communication systems.

A somewhat mechanistic image of man and the outlook that the result of the educational effect--in school, family, movement and propaganda--depends chiefly on its practicality, intention, and designed purpose corresponded splendidly to all these simplifications. Thus if during their school career pupils learn the subject matter of instruction, listen to many dozens of holiday speeches at national and revolutionary anniversaries, participate in the movement, all this will have something of an accumulative effect and the desired result will of necessity be materialized. If we look at it more closely, a passive-receptive picture of man comes into our hand. Even though as an infant already man is no longer a passive being which merely tolerates impressions but is an "associate author" in his own education. Later, beginning at puberty, this is all the more true. Finally, particularly beginning with adolescence, we cannot educate anyone against his own will and inclination, at the most we can only exercise compulsion. Therefore, it is strange but natural in wake of the foregoing that so little is said about self-education and self-development.

Logically linked with the outlined thought process is the excuse that the points of conflict that can be experienced in the life of youth are only partial and cannot be regarded as characteristic phenomena. We find the following in a monograph:

"In a socialist society...the "criticality" of youth is expressed in the inexorableness with which it opposes everything which is opposed to the ideas of socialism and communism. It is true that instances are not rare (!) where youth and inexperience stimulate some young people to thoughtless actions and steps. But we may regard these phenomena as merely partial incidents."<sup>4</sup>

Here also worthy of attention is the passage to the effect that negative phenomena, besides being exclusively of a partial nature, can be easily explained by certain "age characteristics" of the young, which of course undoubtedly exist.

I think that the model which has been outlined here in a fragmentary way, or at least its logic--although with significant differences and modifications--must be regarded as characteristic of practice in socialist countries.

I shall only mention the second model, among other things because we should take it seriously in its own manner. Certain theoretical reflections of the new left characteristically harmonize with this (for example, the exhaustion of the revolutionary possibilities of the working class, and its integration into the capitalist system) as well as the questions posed by the Chinese "cultural revolution."

According to this concept, the continuity of generations in socialist reality must be assured by having each new entering generation share in the

4. P. Resetov: "Molodyozh: ideologiya polityika." Moskva, 1975, p 3.

personal experience of a direct revolutionary mass struggle: youth should be the carriers and representatives of a kind of permanent revolutionary practice. We have seen this and can now see its consequences in China.

In connection with this model, theoretical difficulties are caused by the fact that its internal logic appears to harmonize with one of our basic convictions: it is possible to educate and to assure generational continuity only in activity that shapes society and reality, in consciously undertaken community ties and with a sense of responsibility. But what will be the palpable way of doing these things which will also seize the imagination and dynamism of the young? Not in general, but here and now, right here in the existing Hungarian reality. It is apparently one of our most timely tasks to deliberate this.

I do not desire and I do not even know how to outline in wake of the foregoing an ideal and unconditionally purposeful new model. In fact, I think that this must now be born on basis of the manifold scientific analysis of our experiences and on basis of the directions of movement in the reform efforts of radical socialism. One thing is certain: we can speak of a purposeful model if we view the uninterrupted generation changes as an actual organic historical and social process but at the same time conceive of the conflicts, tensions and contradictions that operate within it as unavoidable, necessary and logical components of this process. That is to say, we need an actual dialectical general outlook which can understand and deal with the conflicts and will not reduce them to insignificant particulars and "non-characteristic" partials.

From the viewpoint of the development of a generation and altogether the genesis of a generational consciousness, we must according to all signs regard as extremely important the period of life between the age of 15 and 25 years. The emphasis on this period harmonizes with many sociological, demographic and other considerations. Speaking a bit metaphorically, I would like to name this period as a generation's appearance on the scene, the "generational entry." The interplay and mutual effects between the concrete historical-social circumstances of appearing on the scene prescribe the way in which the generation will develop, in fact, even the kind of shape it will take, and what will be the content of the generational consciousness.

Those generations are fortunate which in this period of life live through great historical and social turns and revolutionary changes, although--as I have mentioned--we do not see ourselves and our social identifications primarily in generational categories. Actually, this is the secret of the "bright winds" generation which is so often mentioned today, but we may also regard as a "fortunate generation" the "March Youth," the 1919 generation when Bela Kun was already "old" at the age of 33 years.

On the other hand, consolidation generations which proceed at a calm pace or strive for reforms are less likely to lift the young from the limits of their generational relations, their generational consciousness. The beat generation of the 1960's may be an example of this.

the characteristic "generational entrants"--although we can find this first youth literature--after the "bright winds" period were presumably the 1950's, the 1956 crisis, the KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] era of early consolidation, and the 1960's. And now it appears that a strikingly new boundary line is appearing. The working out of a generational consciousness, however, does not regularly occur in synchrony with the events that are being lived through in a combined way; it is largely a result of subsequent building and symbolization processes. In 1945 no one was talking about the "generation of bright winds." People are talking about it all the more nowadays.

The more clearly generation development adheres to combined generation experiences the more we can discover therein the subsequent "mythologizing," the new working up and reconstruction of generational experiences. Typical biographies, atmospheres, and basic experiences are woven together in it; frequently mass communication and art also vigorously builds the generational "mythologies." Again only the 1960's can be a suitable example of this (Brody and Szorenyi, new taste formations, styles of dress, new ways of spending time together, the experiences of an expanded world and the desire to be different). All these are, therefore, chiefly of interest because the generational images that have been worked out serve as a model for the newly entering generations, and give them orientation. They offer frameworks of identification, and in their own way they represent an alternative epitome of historical experiences and the manner of their transmission.

It is in this connection that the question may be interesting whether there are representative groups for a given generation. The expression "bright winds" does not describe a full generation but a representative group thereof. A latent debate is still being conducted how the "vagrants" (csövesek), the young guardsmen of KISZ, the oppositional youth, the indifferent, and the utilitarian pragmatists can be classified as representatives of the generation.

The posing of the question again emphasizes that the concept of youth and generation is extremely abstract; actually we can only speak of young people. Every generation is segmented at many points, differentiated, and filled with tensions and conflicts. Therefore, in the analysis of a given generation's profile it may be useful to have recourse to surveying representative groups characteristic of the generation and expressing particular qualities without making any of them the exclusive bearer of the "essence." One of the sources of frequently sterile debates about youth is that the debaters regard entirely different groups as the authentic representative and exponent of the generation, even though each one is only a partial representative. That is to say, it is frequently an ideological matter or a matter of evaluating to which one we attribute representative value for the future.

The existence of representative groups among the university students of today is well represented by Fejes' new novel, "Angel Face." He has looked at two groups in a descriptive way: the "Pasaretis" and the university



Students of working class origin "from the once blessed Jozsefvaros." It is worthwhile quoting him at some length.

Here is the portrait of the "Pasaretis": "The lifestyle that they are trying to realize exists nowhere but in their imagination as a result of events learned of by hearsay and undigested reading.

Some of them have rushed over a few points on this world, and they have formed their living and behavioral patterns on the basis of these superficial impressions. The majority of them imitates those who set the fashion.

Everywhere and at all times they will be unsatisfied and unhappy. It is in this country that they have it the best. And it is this country that they belittle the most.

They sponge on the worth, money and work of their parents and grandparents. Some even sponge on their death. It is at this price that they can live a life which exists nowhere.

They muddle through their university years somehow, which it would not be proper to call studies. They tame their failures into the stupidity and lack of comprehension of the surrounding world. They look down on and depreciate what they are unable to learn.

They vegetate here for a while and then generally set out on their way in possession of a diploma or some other qualification."

And the Jozsefvarosi's? "...they are the late, and to put it nicely, the not too fortunate descendants of the generation of "bright breezes." One must know this about them.

They are not the so-called, self-conscious working youth in the worn, trodden and now frequently scoffed at sense of the word. But they live, they exist. In their own country, in history, in this society which they say is also being built for themselves, more exactly which they are building for themselves, and they demand the rights they say they have coming.

It is not the life and worth of their fathers, grandfathers, or sometimes their violent death, and the years in prison, their poverty that they want to cash into small change, and to liquidate. To achieve undeserved benefits at the price of their hard lives.

They want to live according to their integrity, capability, and industry. They want to achieve as much as their talent will permit. But this much they insist on.

Not in their dreams, their desires, and in the distant future. Here and now. In this living, breathing, pile driven, crowded, restless, a thousand times blessed eighth district.

They are not without fault, they are not perfect, they are not paper figures. They have not stepped out of a brochure to preach cheap, habitual slogans

...heard a hundred times. They do not want to preach anything. We must keep an eye on them more than on our own eye. We must understand that our future depends on them also, we rely on them, too."

Pages' lines, which would be fit for a sociological essay, summarize the possibilities deriving from a descriptive analysis of representative youth groups, and at the same time they show to what extent the related evaluation is a matter of world outlook and political attitude. We must clearly understand which group represents what, which one is the bearer of modern, constantly renewing socialist perspectives of the continuity being realized beyond the pauses of the generational changes in our social life. And which groups concur with them, and why. And all in all, how do representative generational groups come about in our present reality.

Among other things, the generation change will become more and more a process that is accompanied by tensions, because in the eyes of new generations that follow in one another's steps, historical time and social practice, and the real material of direct experience are showing increasingly radical differences. Let me point merely to the various spheres of social existence and to the increasingly accelerating transformations of lifestyles. Mannheim is right: "The same times are different for everyone, that is, a different era for one's self in which only those of the same age share."<sup>5</sup>

Today the generation change is occurring under circumstances in which the directly revolutionary era of socialism and the historical justification that can be lived through in the personal fate of masses has become the subject matter of instruction, value-declarative lessons that must be learned and recited. But no generation can transmit its own experiences to the succeeding one as direct evidence that need not be proved. Not even such evidence as carries the historical and social justification of socialism. Every generation must prove these over and over again, and every new generation must take possession of it through its own personal intellectual efforts, by choosing and deciding among ever widening alternatives. The exchange of experience among generations and the exchange of evidence is always filtered through and mediated by the processing itself of the given reality, and is verified through and in this process. Therefore, the whole "strategy" of generation change must be much more open and one that can be more readily built on the choices, decisions and efforts of the individual. The institutions of socialization must cooperate in this process as companions with patience and broad horizons.

Lenin used the expression that Russia "agonized" Marxism into being. It may be permissible for us to use the lessons of this formula for generational and individual destinies. And this means that there are no ready-made automatisms, social perspectives that can be transmitted ready made, avoiding the active positions by the individual. In a certain sense, we must actually "agonize" for our personal identifications. Who has thoroughly examined, for example, how under present conditions a fine young man's alienation from religion and nationalism takes place? Or how the opposite

5. See: "Youth Sociology," Budapest, 1964, p 41.

...ours. Are these easy, painless paths to take? Perhaps we should esteem more highly the easy placing on the agenda of big questions, or the critical destruction of values? Perhaps indifferent drifting, or conformity without misgiving?

Nowadays I see few tasks more worthy for school, movements and all institutions designed for socialization than constantly facing young people with the possibilities of choice, with life alternatives, and in such a way that they will consciously live through the difficult, sometimes dramatic, nature of their decisions as relating to themselves. Every new generation and every member of it decides again and again, in the reality of socialism, his personal relation to our perspectives and our reality. And it is in our far-reaching interest that this decision should be a conscious one, and it should likewise include the clear differentiation between the "with what" and the "against what." The concept of a united world which has been mentioned above supports the importance of all this. We are faced with the compulsion and indispensability of making the possible generational alternatives continuously conscious, relying on the fact that the socialist perspective--despite all temporary failures and difficulties--has justified and is justifying its own legitimacy.

But are we counting adequately on the fact that in the eyes of youth, opposition and criticism are always more attractive, more to the taste, than passive acceptance, or than to put up with limits on independent development of a personal position? Let me say that one of the secrets for the success of the people's colleges was that in identifying with the affairs of socialism they could be in keen opposition with the sectors not yet taken over by state power.

Frequently we are not aware that youth who are consciously committed to socialism are often under unique moral pressure. As if they had doubts as to how far their rights extended to keen and constructive criticism. Then if a young generation grows up seeing that it may be personally and materially advantageous and "rewarding" to be committed, the situation may readily arise where those who are committed in a self-sacrificing manner through internal conviction and with a desire to help the cause may find themselves in opposition with those classified as "carrierists" and "climbers."

Let there be no misunderstanding: I do not have it in my mind at all to proclaim asceticism. Rather I would like to present a lesson from history. We no longer recall how Lenin established the pay of leaders, and in Gorki how he withdrew into a small servant room in order to use less heat in the rigorous and poor premises. Here Lenin touched on a central moral question of socialism: the problem of privilege. Young people are especially susceptible to this, and rightfully so; one of the focal points of factors shaping their moral disposition may be found here.

Finally, let me speak of the fact that in the future our federation policy will also need to acquire new dimensions. Up to now we have spoken of federation policy traditionally as the social unity of different classes and

...classes, or of people with a different world outlook. Youth, however, will represent the future of an always new, federation policy filled with new content, but they are also worthy of attention from the viewpoint of their present lot. We must enter into a political federation also with this new generation of youth: they are in the framework of federation policy, and will continue to be so more and more. The youth organization cannot be the only embodiment of this federation. I believe that from this point of view we shall have to rethink many problems. We cannot rely on the youth parliaments that meet occasionally, without continuity, and in somewhat of a void. We must analyze the participation of the youth in the state power organizations, we must investigate new forms of interest expression, both at places of work and in school, housing areas, free-time activities, and local administrative and executive organs. As I see it, the development of social democratism which is so important and mentioned so often, cannot do without a fundamental study of the pertinent questions and research into new possibilities. This will apparently be one of the most important lines of action in youth policy.

In conclusion I shall repeat: the foregoing has touched on the big-scale subject set forth in the title to my article only in an unfortunately sketchy and fragmentary way. I trust that future discussions will make many things more clear. They will make it possible to conceive the possible and necessary lines of defined actions more clearly and correct whatever may be disputed in the foregoing for good reason.

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## BIALYSTOK PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Executive Board on Citizens' Complaints

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 31 May 82 p 2

[Article by A W: "Executive Board of Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Provincial Committee [KW] Meets in Bialystok"]

[Text] On 28 May 1982, a meeting of the executive board of the Polish United Workers Party Provincial Committee [KW PZPR] took place in Bialystok. Information was reviewed regarding the status of vacation preparations for children and young people. Despite the country's difficult economic condition the organizers of this year's summer campaign anticipate this year's participation to approximate that of last year. Over 30,000 children and young students will vacation at summer camps, training camps, bivouacs and outing centers, whereas more than 35,000 participants will enjoy various forms of furloughs in the locality of their residences.

This year's summer campaign will be conducted consistent with the formula: "vacation--education--work," combining vacation with the formation of civic and patriotic attitudes, as well as work socially beneficial to the national economy.

The executive board of the Provincial Committee pointed out the necessity of analyzing sources of financing the vacation sites, focusing attention on the necessity of reducing vacation costs for children of families who find themselves in difficult financial straits. The ideological-upbringing work agenda for children and young people during the vacation period was accepted.

The executive board of the Provincial Committee next conducted an evaluation of methods to handle complaints and grievances of citizens. Pointing out the importance of problems discussed in party work, the committees, party organizations and divisions of the Provincial Committee were placed under obligation to intensify control in the national and economic units of administration, as well as to directly engage in the examination of complaints and requests of interested parties, to seriously investigate the subject matter and reasons for the raising of complaints. This will provide for elicitation of suitable recommendations and improvement in the work of institutions and enterprises. It was recommended that the committees and the



Small Scale Organization (of the Polish United Workers Party) comply with the precept of examining, at least once annually, information dealing with methods of handling citizens complaints and letters.

The executive board of the Provincial Committee likewise familiarized itself with information regarding these conditions in the following news media: GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA, as well as the Polish radio and television station in Bialystok.

#### Plenum on Small-Scale Industry

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 24 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Leszek Kolesnik: "Joint Plenum of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [KW PZPR] and the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party [WK SD] In Bialystok"]

[Text] Small-scale industry, the connective tissue of the economy.

Opportunities in market output and services. Reserves of local raw materials. Finally a stable policy regarding handicraft and small-scale industry.

Yesterday [23 Jun 3, 1982] a joint plenary meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party was conducted in Bialystok, which was devoted, from the standpoint of supplying the market, to a discussion of important issues involving the state and directions of development of small scale industry. Participating in the plenum, among others, were the vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, Jozef Eljaszewicz; Secretary of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, Zdzislaw Lasocki; as well as the deputy manager of the Economic Division of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Franciszek Kubiczek. The deliberations were conducted alternately by First Secretary of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party Stefan Zawodzinski, and Chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party Zygmunt Kummer.

The discussion was preceeded by an introductory report delivered by Czeslaw Radkiewicz, chairman of the Economic Board of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. To begin with, he recalled the resolutions of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and the presidium of the Democratic Party Central Committee of December 1980, concerning development of small-scale industry and services which outline the joint policy of both parties in these sectors of the economy. It is impossible to create a market well supplied with goods without productive participation of small-scale industry. In the province of Bialystok, it comprises 58 cooperative units of handicraft work by cripples of the NAREW Clothing Industry Plants [ZPO], as well as the SPOLEM Voivodship General Consumer Cooperative and SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA [Peasant Mutual Aid] Agricultural Cooperative Center in the given area.

Small-scale industry, in difficult and critical conditions, achieves better economic results than the entire socialized economy. The facts speak for themselves. Here the value of production in 1981 maintained the level of 1980, whereas during the same period of time it fell over 11 percent in key industry. In the first quarter of the current year, a definite limited growth in production is even noted, but in the meanwhile, there is evidence of further decline in key industry.

However, the share of small-scale industry is insufficient in the total production of the province, in the supply of marketable goods and services. An inadequate supply of other materials and raw material constitutes a fundamental barrier. We are also bearing the consequences of little concern about investments and modernization of technological facilities. From the perspective of time, the decision to liquidate the regional industry proved to be erroneous. Finally, also, the economic-financial system in use until recently, is not conducive to development.

Recent party resolutions Eighth Plenum of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and the Third Plenum of the Democratic Party Central Committee) assign to these sectors of the economy an especially significant role in solving market problems. The Bialystok province maintains reserves of local raw and other materials, the utilization of which could enrich the production of goods. It is necessary, therefore, to place greater emphasis on the development of plants manufacturing agricultural-consumer articles in order to administer the complete production of potatoes, fruit, vegetables, eggs and milk. The productive capabilities of baking plants are inadequate; therefore, there is also an urgent necessity to activate new facilities in the socialized sector, as well as by handicraft.

Hitherto small-scale industry, to a small degree, utilized local mineral raw material. Hence it is necessary to reach also for those reserves in order to expand the building materials industry. Local production of building materials should be organized in peasant groups, handicraft plants and socialized small-scale industry. The first results of these efforts are noteworthy already. Among others, the production of two brick yards, inactive to date, has been resumed.

Although the difficulties in supplying materials persist, small-scale industry has assumed the initiative in producing tools and equipment for agriculture. The existing manufacturing facilities also provide the prospects for increasing the production of articles from plastic, wooden and metal scrap. The flexibility of small plants facilitates the expansion of diversification in manufactured goods and a switch to new products.

In the socioeconomic plan for provincial development, important tasks for industry were established. It should concentrate on expansion of services to the rural population and small cities, as well as production of marketable articles. During the past year an impressive increase in the potential of Bialystok's handicrafts took place, because 270 new shops came into being and employment was increased by 616 persons. However, demand for services continues to grow in view of which cooperative and handicraft enterprises

should pay attention to the development of the network of plants, and the attraction of a larger number of young people to the study of handicrafts.

In their endeavors for the benefit of the development of small-scale industry, an important role falls to the echelons and elements of the Polish United Workers Party and the Democratic Party. Precisely the task of both parties is the continuation of a stable policy towards these sectors of the economy. A climate conducive to increasing the results of production in compliance with the principles of economic reform should be developed within the plants. Upon them rests also the obligation to control the implementation of decisions of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers Central Committee and the presidium of the Democratic Party Central Committee in the sphere of small-scale industry.

Fourteen active members of the Polish United Workers Party and the Democratic Party participated in the discussion that evolved against a backdrop of the subject matter covered in the report, as well as in documents previously submitted to the members of echelons of both parties. In all proposals there was a dominant concern for the formation of specific conditions for the development of small-scale industry that could significantly aid in overcoming the financial crisis. This pertains to all sectors: national, social and private.

Janusz Luniewski, Polish United Workers Party emphasized that small-scale industry has stood the test well under serious crisis conditions. Here production did not fall as it did in key industries. It is necessary to make available all aid possible to the people providing services and not to complicate their lives. And so, whom do the unrealistic assessed taxes in industry serve? Another obstacle in the stable work of handicraft workshops are the enormous problems in obtaining materials and raw material. Mieczyslaw Anasinski, Democratic Party spoke about the obstacles which the artisan must overcome in order to obtain the raw and other materials that he needs in the plants of a socialized economy. The artisan continues to be treated distrustfully even though appropriate regulations were issued.

Director of the Provincial Division of the National Bank of Poland [NBP], Czeslaw Onociej, Polish United Workers Party keenly evaluated the initiation of economic reform in small-scale industry. However, it was a rather critical evaluation, because in his opinion, the assumptions of the Cabinet Resolutions No 112 acquire only limited implementation--the essential growth in production and services fails to be noticed, the results of a more frugal management are not discernible. Instead prices went up vastly and plant profitability primarily is achieved in this manner.

Vice-governor Jerzy Slezak, Democratic Party, in his statement presented more positive elements from the initial experiences of the economic reform. Cabinet Resolution No 112 aroused--as he stated--the initiative of the work force to flexible activity in the development of market production, consistent with local needs. An example of this could be an interest in the production of tools and simple farm machinery. With the aid of the regional administration the idle flour mills, pork butcher shops and brick yards were re-activated.

...ability for increasing agricultural services was discussed during the plenum by Maria Kucharska, head of the Drohiczy Council of the Polish United Workers Party. The village needs handicrafts, blacksmith, and metal work, milling services and the like. In the meantime handicraft grows obsolete and young people reluctantly pursue this work. All sorts of improvements and priorities are necessary in the policy toward handicraft to provide for a consistent increase in the number of village workshops.

During the plenary proceedings, Edward Lasocki, Secretary of the Democratic Party Central Committee, participated in the discussion. He emphasized that from the initial years of the 1970's both parties conduct a joint policy towards small-scale industry and handicraft. These sectors of the economy grow in significance when we found ourselves in a serious economic crisis. The truth is unquestionable that small-scale industry and handicraft will possibly overcome the difficulties smoothly. But also erroneous are convictions which are often disseminated, that small-scale industry can function without the essential aid of the state, especially with reference to providing a supply of materials and raw material.

The Joint Plenum of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and the Central Committee of the Democratic Party passed a resolution defining the tasks of echelons, as well as party organizations and Democratic Party circles involving the creation of conditions for the development of small-scale industry in Bialystok.

Following a recess, the members of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party Plenum listened to information regarding the work of the executive board and the secretariat of the Provincial Committee covering the period of time since the last plenum. Likewise, the work plan of party activities was ratified for the approaching months.

#### Executive Board on July Holiday

BIALYSTOK DZIENNIK WSPOLCZYSLNY in Polish 25 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by Dr. Polish United Workers Party, Provincial Committee Executive Board (KZ WPR), Session at Bialystok]

Last, at its last session, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party in Bialystok considered and accepted the program agenda for the 22 July Rebirth Holiday celebrations. This year's holiday was celebrated solemnly and with dignity but modestly [original not entirely] and the nonutilized opportunities [because of?] the building of socialism in our country.

The July holiday will be one an occasion for expressing appreciation, and thanks to the veterans of labor and struggle; for emphasizing the role and significance of national understanding; for exhibiting the whole of party and authority efforts on behalf of normalizing socioeconomic life and mitigating the consequences of martial law.

...to the Rebirth Holiday, solemn joint sessions of the national committee of the National Unity Front [FON]; and the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth [ORON] will be conducted. The open meetings of party organizations in factories, institutions and individual centers will likewise reflect a solemn character with the participation of veterans of the labor movement, combatants and representatives of government. Also included are festive evening socials, appeals and collections for summer camps and sport camps for the young people. At places of national commemoration, wreaths and bouquets of flowers will be offered.

Numerous massive performances of a cultural and recreational nature will accompany the solemn celebrations of the Rebirth Holiday.

The executive board of the Provincial Committee next became acquainted with information concerning the current state of preparations for the summer vacations of children and young people. It is proper at this point to especially emphasize that despite known economic difficulties, the number of vacation sites is more or less similar to that of last year. Once again it is proof of the enormous concern of the people's state for the young generation. Preparations, as was emphasized, have already essentially been completed. In a few days the summer camps and sport camps will be teeming; limited types of vacations will be revived in small communities and residential locations. Organizers, as well as educators in this great campaign should put forth every effort so that the triformula: "vacation--education--work" may bear the best fruit possible.

Furthermore, the executive board set the subject matter and the time of the plenary session of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. It will be dedicated to the initiation of economic reform, and will take place in the second half of August of this year. The subject matter is unusually grave and timely. The plenary deliberations will be preceded by basic orientation in factories and enterprises. In effect, it is to provide an answer to the question: how, under what circumstances and with what difficulty, this great economic undertaking is to be initiated. It is likewise to approximate the contents, agenda and goals of the reform with the work of the

#### Executive Board on Party Work

BIALYSTOK GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19 Jul 82 p 2

[Article No. 1: "Executive Board Field-Trip Session of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party in Bialystok"]

[Text] The subject matter of the last session of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party in Bialystok was the activity of the Regional Party Work Center [ROPP]. As a location for deliberations, one such center was appropriately chosen, namely Hajnowka which perfectly enhanced the topics of discussions concerning opinions, observations and recommendations of local active party members who participated in them.



In the organizational structure of the party, regional centers are a new phenomenon, having come into existence only a few months ago. They represent a straight line extension of the activities of the Provincial Committee to basic echelon and organizational levels. The initial results of their efforts are already evident. There followed a significant rapprochement of the provincial echelon with area party elements. There was considerable growth not only in the quality and rapidity of information regarding conditions in the country and province transmitted downwards, but also on the contrary, upwards. There was likewise increased effectiveness in the conveyance of decisions and resolutions of higher party authorities.

Frequent appointments with secretaries of the lower echelons, organized by the Regional Party Work Center, also serve to invigorate political life, strengthen party ranks, enrich them with a greater supply of knowledge and dialectic so very necessary in exerting influence on the centers. They likewise represent an important plane for becoming mutually informed regarding current socioeconomic problems, as well as the compilation of adequate directions for the activities of basic level echelons, arising from the requirements and specificity of a given area.

However, as with all that is new, the appearance of regional centers, here and there still arouses certain questions and insinuations. Of primary concern is the area of authority, between officers of the Regional Party Work Center and secretaries of low level party echelons. The former would feel more confident in the role of coordinators, stimulators and organizers of party work if they were also provided with decision sources, for example, national and economic administration. Yet, others often feel that they are sufficiently independent to make it unnecessary for officers of the Regional Party Work Center to introduce any motivation whatsoever regarding basic echelons conducted by them, or even more to assign tasks pertinent to the entire region. There are disagreements of this type regarding authority, but there used to be rather more. The passage of time will determine the requisition of new experience in the course of daily responsible work; however, they should systematically decline.

As it was frequently maintained at the Hajnowka forum, the Regional Party Work Center unanimously proved the need of its existence. As coordinator, organizer and stimulator of party work, they assist the party to carry itself on a daily basis, to regain confidence and social creditability. Rallying to itself a large circle of active labor peasants, as well as old tested activists and the mutual assistance of basic echelons, they undertake increasingly animated work with basic organizations, especially in the village. Very shortly the Regional Work Party Centers will be strengthened by the accession of officers into ideological matters which should yet more effectively influence the bulk of their activities.

At another point, the Provincial Committee Executive Board familiarized itself with an appraisal of the outcome of research into the effectiveness of party work in first level echelons (to the exclusion of the Town Committee of the Polish United Workers Party in Bialystok), and accepted suitable recommendations on this issue. This material was discussed at the next council of the first secretaries basic level echelons and the political workers of the Provincial Committee.

The Provincial Committee Executive Board then familiarized itself with information concerning the training work among members and active party people in the past year of training.

Recommendations accepted in this matter generally tend to confer a rank of priority on ideological problems. Under the conditions of the political struggle in progress, it is important to create a solid ideological up-bringing front, incorporating among other things, social, youth and women's organizations, schools and higher institutions of learning, as well as the mass media. Of equal significance is the creation of a broad front for ideological-political activity for the benefit of national understanding, indoctrination in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism; respect for work and its fruits but also in the spirit of constant struggle with political opponents.

The Provincial Committee Executive Board furthermore confirmed the individual groups which prepare materials on the subject of introducing economic reform in the Province of Bialystok. These materials will provide a foundation for discussion at the plenary session of the Provincial Committee that will be held during the latter half of August of the current year.

#### Executive Board on Private Investments

Bialystak GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 2 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by C: "Executive Board Session of Polish United Workers Party Provincial Committee in Bialystok"]

[Text] During the course of its last session in Bialystok, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers Party became acquainted with advance information regarding the result of supervision in private investment construction accounts. Research on the matter conducted for more than a year by the District Bureau of the Chief Board of Supervision [NIK] together with financial organs, as well as the police and the procurator included not only construction of summer cottages, popularly referred to as "daczka". It likewise included single family homes, regarding which there was suspicion that their owners continue to maintain residence in cooperative or state controlled housing.

From the material presented, it appears that all who violated legal regulations very often availing themselves of their own positions or those of acquaintances, were or will be held officially, financially or legally accountable. If party members were involved, they were likewise subject to party punishment.

In compliance with the decision of the Provincial Committee Executive Board, this advance material regarding supervision of private construction investment accounts will be finally compiled up to midSeptember, and then the party organizations will become acquainted with it.

In point two of the daily agenda, the Provincial Committee Executive Board became acquainted with the material of the Provincial Commander of the Civic Militia [MO] in the area of social discipline, order and public safety, as well as coping with speculation.

It was stated that in provincial sociopolitical life, a course of action is being pursued to serve the further strengthening of internal peace and normalization, and also the consolidation of society in relation to the superior goals of the people's state. All these positive elements in the consolidation of which the police and security organs contribute a considerable daily share, still require intensification and strengthening.

A separate problem involves the struggle with speculation, embezzlement and petty larceny. Occurrences of these dangerous criminal activities strike at every one of us. Therefore, the struggle against them does not require only the participation of the organs of pursuit and the administration of justice. To an equal degree, this likewise concerns the managers of plants, institutions and organizations and every honest citizen.

#### Executive Board on Political Situation

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 6 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by AW: "Executive Board Session of the Polish United Workers Party Provincial Committee At Bialystok"]

[Text] On Friday last [3 September 1982], the Executive Board of the Polish United Workers Party Provincial Committee deliberated at Bialystok. An evaluation of the sociopolitical conditions in the province was conducted. It was revealed that 31 August of the current year was a day of normal peaceful work in our province. The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee expressed its appreciation to the working class of the Bialystok region for its responsible attitude during those days, and for noncompliance with the exhortation of political adventurers to agitation and confusion.

The Provincial Committee Executive Board became acquainted with an appraisal of the harvest progress and preparations for autumn agricultural work. During the current year, the harvest was practically completed in September, which was influenced by good climatic conditions, but likewise--what is noteworthy--by better organization of work in Bialystok agriculture. The harvest capabilities realized were better utilized than in past years; the institutions servicing agriculture provided somewhat greater aid, as during the period of fuel economy and care of village children.

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee expresses sincere gratitude to the farmers for their generous efforts put into the efficient gathering of this year's yields, directing it to private farmers, as well as to workers of the industrial sector.

The assumption of activities was recommended for the benefit of providing full post-harvesting employment and a good organization for fall employment,

especially in the root-crop harvest, as well as in the sowing of winter grains. The prolonged drought lingering on since July, had an unfavorable effect on root crops growth. Also, for this reason the attainment of about a 30 percent lower potato yield should be anticipated as compared with last year. Sugar beet yield will be lower. Because of this also, it will be necessary to take pains to gather all yields. Attention was turned to the necessity of supplying provincial inhabitants with a full supply of eating potatoes.

The Provincial Committee Executive Board likewise became acquainted with the status of preparations for the next joint session of the plenary Provincial Committee and the Town Committee at Bialystok, dedicated to the tasks of the Basal Party Organization of the Polish United Workers Party in economic reform.

9951

CSO: 2600/37

EDUCATION MINISTRY PRESS CONFERENCE ON NEW SCHOOL YEAR HELD

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 29, 29 Aug 82 pp 9, 10

[Wording in slant lines published in boxes]

[Text] What kind of balance among accomplishments, needs and plans are we going to have going into the new school year? How well prepared is the Ministry of Education to coordinate the work required for all elements of this system? And is it the straightest road by which to permit the best use of almost one-half million teachers to teach our children so that they can acquire the knowledge to serve the country?

Questions like these were posed by more than one journalist at a press conference organized at the Ministry of Education on 18 August 1982. Questions like these also were posed by the main producers of the didactic and education tasks--teachers and school principals.

Information about preparation for the 1982-83 school year was given by the following persons: Jerzy Wojciechowski, vice minister (general affairs concerning the [Teachers'] Charter; Gen. Div. Jan Czaska, vice minister (directions in education); Marian Gala, vice minister (general education); Alfred Andrys, director general (construction, assistance); Jeremiasz Salwa, director of the Department of Vocational and Continuing Education (vocational education) and Adam Siedlecki, adviser to vice premier M. Rakowski (government concern about the education issue).

How does the ministry generally evaluate the education situation?

Calming of sentiments among school youth and teachers as a result of the general stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the country will create favorable conditions for a proper opening of the new school year. A considerable influence on improving the atmosphere within the teaching



community came about through the passage of the Teachers' Charter, which acts as an explanation of the state's educational policy and requires its initiation. A review of educational personnel in June has contributed to the discipline of the personnel and to the elimination of persons who have not given a guarantee of the proper implementation of the state's policy in the area of schools and educational positions.

However, implementation of educational tasks will be affected by the still existing fragmentation among teachers, which requires further work on the shaping of a common feeling of responsibility for the course of the educational process.

A negative influence on the social values of education and on the commitment of teachers to implement this task continue to be felt--despite the state's efforts--in the needs of education's material conditions, particularly in the unsatisfactory degrees of preschool care and local schools, the inadequate supply of equipment and teaching materials and also the impossibility of a complete implementation of the school's protective function (day care, lunchroom, scholarships, boarding and transportation).

#### Vis-a-Vis Better Judgement

Implementing the tasks resulting from the resolution passed by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress regarding the generalization of high school education within the confines of the existing school system and from the resolution passed by the Sejm on 26 January 1982 calling for a halting of the implementation of structural reform within the national educational system, the Ministry of Education has begun a systematic modernization of program and organizational principles for work in schools, placing particular attention to strengthening the educational process.

Efforts have been introduced to modernize teaching programs in particular types of schools in conformance with the current school system. New programs in the fifth grade will be implemented during the current school year. New teaching methods will be introduced on an experimental basis in grades six through eight, whose institution will take place in the next few years. Within high school education, programs will be modified in Polish language teaching, history and instruction in basic civics so that students can be made aware of social and historical phenomena that will shape desired goals and the value system.

Regulations were introduced concerning the school's internal life and the teacher's and the student's work, which have strengthened the state's influence on education. Among these regulations are:

1. A new regulation of pedagogic counsel that increases the ability to implement decisions regarding the shaping of school tasks;
2. a regulation for evaluating, classifying and promoting students who satisfy the demands concerning the quality of school work and student achievements;

2. a new regulation on school final examinations;
3. introduction of entrance examinations to high schools; and
4. introduction of final examinations for professional preparation to all types of professional schools.

On 18 December 1981, the minister issued guidelines as to school operations during the period of martial law. Their implementation has contributed to raising discipline in school work, improvement in attendance and implementation of teaching programs.

Through a February 1982 order, the organization of education for the 1982-83 school year was regulated. It defined the basic directions of education and the organizational tasks of the schools, emphasizing the particular importance of ideological and educational problems. It was specified recently in "The Main Directions and Tasks Regarding the Education of Children and School Youth," which after approval by the Council of Ministers in September will become the basis to implement the education plans in every school.

#### Educators Are Recipients

The latter document on education was worked out by the ministry in 1972. It contained a general formulation on education tasks--barely two pages were devoted to it. The designated draft, already presented to superintendents for comment, contains a wide range of issues. Its recipients are educators who together with the principal's office have created a competent group of pedagogic advisors for new education methods.

What is the composition of the document? It exhibits general moral values that represent the nation's existence, presents citizens' ideals and personal ones based upon them, defines the relationship of the young person to the state and enhances the socialist character of education.

The goal of the document is to activate and direct the educational process and to strengthen the cohesion of teaching with education.

The project also pays attention to the role of the community in shaping the desired bases of children and youth, which is tied directly to the necessity of maintaining close contacts with the school, the home and the workplace. It also defines the functions of ministerial and other academic subsidiaries that can aid schools and teachers, especially in the implementation of adopted educational activities.

"The Main Directions and Tasks Regarding the Education of Children and School Youth" will be published in GLOS NATCZYCIELSKI after approval of the draft by the Council of Ministers.

#### For the Youngest

It has moved a little, but the road to satisfying needs is still long. The minister's plan of attack is to develop preschool positions in the rural areas.

In 1982, the minister of education issued a report on the status of preschools. In accordance with this report, two forms of preschool education will exist as of the beginning of the new school year: preschool for children aged 3-6 and a preschool branch in the elementary school for six-year-olds. This calls for the elimination of pre-school camps. In their place will be preschool branches.

What is the difference between these two types of preschools? Preschool camps were the weaker type. Classes lasted on the average 18 hours per week. On the other hand, the preschool branch will have on the average 20-30 hours. There is a possibility of hiring additional preschool teachers. The purpose here is to implement a program suitable to the oldest preschool group. The number of hours will depend on agreements made with parents. Toward the end of equalizing the educational opportunities of rural children, a larger number of five-year-olds in the rural areas will have to attend preschool.

During the 1982-83 school year, the education system will receive approximately 7.9 million persons (over 300,000 more than last year). Preschools have over 1.2 million children, of which 25 percent come from the rural areas. There will be 4.5 million children in the elementary schools (an increase of over 160,000). In the high schools, there will be over 2.1 million students./

The qualifying commissions have admitted 850,000 children to preschools. The educational councils have agreed to allow 96,000 children to participate, exceeding the norm. This indicates a complete understanding of social needs. However, as a result of the shortages of space, 74,000 children had to be turned down. Particularly large shortages were seen in the Warsaw voivodship (12,800 children were not accepted), Katowice (6,937) and Lublin (3,266).

As a result of the different forms of preschools, 1.24 million children, or 48.1 percent of the children aged 3-6, will be accepted into preschool. In 1981, there were 1.21 million children, or 47.8 percent. One can state, however, that all six-year-olds will be able to find a place for themselves, be it in preschool or kindergarten.

The basic factor stopping the implementation of the plan for universalizing preschool education is the difficulty in releasing new and refitted buildings for use.

#### Elementary School in a Baby Boom

The actions of school administrations are being concentrated on the preparation of ways by which to raise the level of school work, especially in the rural areas. It is aimed at the further implementation of comprehensives, perfection of the school network, reactivation of some schools and branches in the rural areas (last year, 400 were turned over and this year, 193), broadening of care functions and guaranteeing of ways by which to implement the new teaching program in the fifth grade and the new mathematics program in the seventh grade.

A basic factor influencing the conditions for implementing the elementary school tasks is the baby boom demonstrated in the earliest grades. It is

projected that the number of school children will increase by 165,000 as compared to last year, adding to the already difficult situation among school personnel and space.

#### Not Many Changes in General High School

The general high schools will continue to work on the basis of new plans and teaching programs. Particular attention will be paid to ideological and educational activities, both in the educational process and in extracurricular activities.

General high schools in the rural areas and small towns will be strengthened and developed, designed to correct the students' social structure. The molding of education also will continue.

#### Bankruptcy Is Not Threatening

The greatest amount of fear was centered around maintaining professional schools associated with workplaces. Decision no 23 by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, issued on 21 June 1982, restricted the tendency of transferring the professional schools to the ministry of education. However, the issue of the Vocational Activation Fund was not resolved. In light of the clear character of decision No 23, further resolutions were prepared. These are in accordance with ministerial interests and will be sent to the Council of Minister for approval.

/Last school year, 432,000 teachers worked full-time, of which 22,300 do not have teaching qualifications.

/Additional personnel needs during the new school year require 23,300 qualified teachers, of which 15,000 have university degrees. At present, 6,500 have been hired (37 percent in the rural areas), of which 6,500 are university graduates and 3,000 are graduates of preschool training. The number of vacant teaching positions is 16,800./

Thanks to the introduction of tax relief for workplaces, the majority has decided to introduce schools preparing for needed professions in the workplaces. In general, it is estimated that only 5 percent of these schools will change their status; i.e., to be under the financial care of the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, there is a clear lack of interest on the part of the workplaces to conclude agreements with schools for practical training of students.

It is worth remembering that science was extended to three years in basic schools and history was introduced as an obligatory subject, as was a final examination for professional preparation.

In every school, new teaching plans also were introduced, adjusted to a five-day work week. This issue requires, however, further thought and verification when we are threatened by either a lowering of the education level or overloading of the student with school responsibilities during work days.

What are the results of enrollment in professional schools? The basic professional schools already have enrolled about 90 percent. Enrollment of

...also has taken place. However, percentage indicators of classes differ considerably in individual voivodships. A very large difference occurred in the number of students admitted to professional high schools--from 36 percent in Ciechanow voivodship to over 100 percent in Torun and Zamosc.

It can be said generally that professional high schools do not have the stature of a technical school or many basic schools. Why? According to certain opinions (the ministry does not release the results of its research), these schools prepare students worse than others for professions and ongoing education. The ministry intends this year to research this matter closely so as to propose changes that will guarantee greater efficiency in education.

/This year, the investment plan calls for the gearing up of 160 preschools for 22,195 children; 83 elementary schools of 1,652 rooms for study; 7 boarding schools for 1,140 children and 1,250 homes for teachers.

/In September 1982, the following are designated for use: 103 preschools for 12,038 children; 61 schools of 1,345 rooms for study and 44 other educational buildings. Moreover, there will be reactivated 63 schools and 173 branches. The annual completion tasks after 8 months show 54.8 percent for preschools and 73.5 percent for schools. This year, continued investments show 212 schools of 5,577 rooms for study and 164 preschools for 19,964 children.

/There are 7,997 school buildings earmarked for renovation. Through September 1982, there will be 5,024 buildings renovated, which constitutes 62.8 percent of the annual plan (29.2 percent of the planned renovations of preschools, 60.4 percent of the planned renovations of schools and 65.7 percent of the boarding schools). The remaining buildings have to be renovated by the end of the current year./

In professional schooling, a new classification of professions and specialties will be required in conformance with the professional classifications and specialties of the national economy. It will give preference to a broad profile of professions that facilitate employment for graduates.

#### Still Bad With Personnel

During the past school year, 432,000 teachers worked fulltime, of which 22,300 were not qualified to teach.

As a result of the great need for personnel, also hired will be retired teachers, graduates with nonteaching majors and high school graduates. Fulfillment of personnel needs in education will require greater enrollment in teaching courses, which has been approved by the minister of science, higher schools and technology. Moreover, during the next school year, approximately 10,000 teachers will be taking classes at night schools.

In order to alleviate personnel difficulties and to prepare future teachers, the following has been done:



1. 42 post-high school teachers' programs were formed to teach teachers beginning instruction;
2. the majority of teachers without teaching credentials were given instruction;
3. in teaching programs at the college level, uniform requirements were introduced in the areas of sociopolitics, psychology of teaching and methodology of teaching.

Toward the goal of selecting administrative personnel in education, a review and an evaluation of teachers holding administrative functions were conducted through 30 June 1982. This review covered 45,000 persons. In some voivodships, a review and an evaluation of every employed teacher were conducted. As a result of this evaluation, 1,249 persons were considered to be unqualified to hold administrative functions, of which 900 already have been relieved of their functions. These changes contribute to improving teaching supervision through the elimination of unqualified persons from administrative functions, of those who are not committed to teaching and of those who are not actively involved politically.

The ideological and political teaching of teachers will continue. A system and a program of universal self-education of teachers through discussion groups was worked out. Also planned are two national teachers' conferences on political theory. A congress for innovative teachers is anticipated, which will sum up the existing output in the areas of innovation and educational progress.

Work continues at publishing houses on teaching guides for teachers of history and civics. To date, six brochures on recent history have been published, as well as 10 historical texts in GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI and a series of articles in WIADOMOŚCI HISTORYCZNE. During the next school year, the publication of eight more brochures and a systematic publication of articles in the educational press is planned.

A program for improving teachers was worked out and implemented by the Institute for Teacher Training [IKN] and its field branches. Between August and September, a teachers' conference on subjects will take place. This form of improvement will be--together with individual and group discussions--continued during the year. Approximately 52,000 teachers will take part in courses on teaching methodology. The program of the Teachers' University for Radio and Television will be perfected.

#### What Has Been Done To Build and Repair?

The amount of new investments and renovations in educational construction is not always one despite the priorities, and needs are enormous.

Renovations of buildings are carried out in part by the state construction enterprise and the remainder by craftsmen. Renovations by the craftsmen

often do not meet deadlines because of shortages of materials. Shortages affect primarily finishing and installation materials.

The issue of building investments and renovations also is affected by a lack of funds. As a result, the multiplication factor before the crisis was 3.0-4.5; now it is 2.0-2.13.

#### Textbooks and School Materials Are Not Lacking

During the current period, the most important task is to complete the distribution and delivery of textbooks to schools from bookstores. The ministry is devoting particular attention to this issue.

Beginning in 1982 and based upon decision No 12/82 of the government presidium, a new system for supplying textbooks will be instituted. This year, children in grades I, II and V and six-year-olds in preschool will receive textbooks without cost. In order to purchase these textbooks, the government's budget has earmarked 740 million zlotys. First graders and six-year-olds in preschool will receive textbooks every year to keep, while children in the remaining classes of elementary school will borrow them for free. A period of three years has been established for used and borrowed textbooks.

The remaining children will buy their textbooks, although 200 million zlotys have been earmarked for children from families of smaller financial means.

The distribution of school supplies is managed by the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services. It was agreed that from 15 June to 15 September 1982, the controlled sale of school supplies using rationing coupons will be introduced. This has been received positively by both buyers and trade units.

The state of market supplies of writing materials and school supplies is not any less than that of last year, with the exception of pencils. Also, there are fewer rubber shoes and school clothes.

#### Most Needed Items

According to Adam Siedlecki, emphasizing the government's concern about education, the most needed items are executory regulations. Vice Minister Jerzy Kojalechowski stated that not meeting the deadline is tied to the necessity of interministerial agreements on many particulars and generally known conditions. For example, the question of regulating joint activities with the trade unions continues, which cannot be dealt with until the entire matter of trade unions is resolved.

/In 1982, a considerable increase in the production of textbooks as compared to last year took place (the number of editions increased by 17 percent and the number of titles by 27.7 percent).

/The production plan for the 1982-83 school year foresees the printing of 32,607,000 textbooks, of which 29,822,000 are indispensable from the beginning of the school year./

Despite known financial difficulties, a resolution on a salary scale for all teachers was adopted at the last meeting of the Council of Ministers. Work on this issue is now taking place in the ministry. The text of the resolution will be published later in GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI.

During the new school year, teachers will receive a new salary increase, which constitutes a further step toward equalizing 1983 teachers' earnings with those of middle income engineers and technicians.

Also at the meeting of the Council of Ministers, resolutions were passed to give teachers vacation leave for further education, fare reductions for rail travel and bank credit for teachers accepting work in the rural areas.

With respect to the publication of executive regulations, a representative of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI noted the aspect of official statements in teaching--a rational weighing of words so as not to provoke stopping the teaching community's readiness to trust the authorities. He also noted the fact that during vacation discussions with the teachers, many expressed fear that the new verification of teachers will not serve the renewal process. Constant nervous tension and uncertainty tomorrow are not factors helping to motivate teaching.

Vice Minister J. Janickiowski emphasized that those persons who reject the regulations will suffer the consequences. Personnel review and evaluation of a teacher's work must be in conformance with the Teacher's Charter.

0001

CSH: 1600/95

1. The Main Board of the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students

2. The Main Board of the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students

**"Resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Students": passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]**

[Text] 1. The Main Board of the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students, in its resolution of the Eighth Plenum, has recognized that the current international situation requires the constant interest of the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students in the full national rebirth.

2. The Main Board of the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students, in its resolution of the Eighth Plenum, has recognized that the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students has a duty to support the activities of our socialist fatherland. We accept the responsibility of ensuring the unity of the consensus of the youth and the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students in all organs - the socialist

3. The Main Board of the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students, in its resolution of the Eighth Plenum, has recognized that the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students has a duty to support the activities of our socialist fatherland. We accept the responsibility of ensuring the unity of the consensus of the youth and the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students in all organs - the socialist

4. The Main Board of the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students

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6. The Main Board of the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students, in its resolution of the Eighth Plenum, has recognized that the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students has a duty to support the activities of our socialist fatherland. We accept the responsibility of ensuring the unity of the consensus of the youth and the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students in all organs - the socialist

7. The Main Board of the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students, in its resolution of the Eighth Plenum, has recognized that the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students has a duty to support the activities of our socialist fatherland. We accept the responsibility of ensuring the unity of the consensus of the youth and the ZSPF Union of Socialist Polish Students in all organs - the socialist

The ZSMP Main Board authorizes its Chairman to represent the ZSMP at the central session of the PRON.

/II. At present we regard the following as important factors in perfecting our socio-political system:/

--The provision of conditions for the direct participation of youth in opining and deciding upon issues that are fundamental to the nation and the rising generation and its consultation in drafts of the decisions by the authorities at all levels.

--The development of all forms of social self-government as a way of involving young people in the solution of community problems.

--Broadening the participation of young citizens in the processes of programming, management and monitoring through, among other things, their wider participation in socio-political organizations.

/I. Particularly responsible tasks face the ZSMP members who are deputies to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. The ZSMP Main Board assesses positively the actions so far of the young deputies. At the same time, it suggests to the group of young deputies that it is necessary to:/

/--Participate in the work on the draft of the decree on youth/, make more specific the rights of youth organizations envisaged in the Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, and especially the rights to: opine, monitor and initiate (including legislative initiatives);

/--Present at the forum of the Sejm organs/, and especially at Sejm commissions, problems ensuing from the program of the Third Extraordinary Congress of the ZSMP and the regular plenary meetings of the ZSMP Main Board;

/--Conduct meetings with ZSMP aktiv/ with the object of providing information on the legislative work of the Sejm, especially as regards decrees concerning the rising generation;

/--Include in the Sejm's program for monitoring activities/ problems ensuing from the program agreed upon by the Council of Minister on 14 June 1982;

/Undertake monitoring activities/ to promote a full implementation of the resolutions of the Committee for Youth under the Council of Ministers;

/--Cooperate with ZSMP representatives to the Socioeconomic Council under the Sejm of the PRL;/

/--Participate in the drafting, by the ZSMP Main Board, of proposals for the principles of conducting electoral campaigns for the Sejm of the PRL and the people's councils at all levels./

/2. The participation of ZSMP members in the people's councils represents the broadest form of including youth in decisionmaking on major issues of concern to the



...ities and gminas. The ZSMP Main Board assesses positively the activities of the young people's groups [ZMR]/. At the same time, it believes that the People's Councils and Local Self-Government, which is now in the consultation stage, will fundamentally broaden the competence of the people's councils and local governments and provide them with guarantees for effective and socially useful activity. The Main Board supports expediting the work on the new procedures for voting to the Sejm and the people's councils, which comprise electoral mechanisms that make possible the participation of ZSMP members and other youth representatives proportionately to our role in the country's economic and social life. /The ZSMP Main Board asks: /

--The Voivodship Young Councilors' Groups /WZMR /, to initiate proposals for holding sessions of the voivodship people's councils with the object of discussing and deciding upon a program for improving the conditions for a start in life and work for young people;

--/The presidiums of the ZSMP voivodship boards/, to assess by the end of 1982 the performance of ZSMP members who are members of the voivodship people's councils;

--The basic echelons of the ZSMP/, to analyze by the end of this year the performance of ZSMP members who are members of local people's councils;

/--Members of people's councils at all levels who belong to the ZSMP/, to initiate at council commissions measures to monitor the activities of the local state administration as regards the solution of the principal problems of local youth;

/--The Presidium of the ZSMP Main Board/, to draft a program for disseminating within the ZSMP the provisions of the new Law of the People's Councils and Local Self-Government; and the local echelons, to disseminate the contents of that law.

/3. As worker self-government becomes reactivated, it will gain a significant role in deciding upon the issues of chief concern to labor establishments./ Worker self-government is a factor assuring the implementation of the economic reform.

/The Main Board obligates: /

/--Plant boards and circles [of the ZSMP]/, to evaluate the implementation of the program "Young People and the Reform," adopted by the Fifth Plenum of the ZSMP Main Board, especially as regards its provisions concerning the participation of ZSMP members in worker self-government;

/--The ZSMP aktiv/ at labor establishments, to initiate elections or reactivate worker self-government as well as assure the broadest possible participation of youth in these bodies;

/--Plant boards (circles) [of the ZSMP]/, to present at the form of worker self-government a list of socioeconomic problems, problems of youth that have to be resolved by worker self-government.

/4. The implementation of the program for the development of food management and the comprehensive development of the countryside requires a broad participation of

ZSMP members in rural and agricultural self-government./ It is becoming particularly important to increase the participation of rural youth in the organization of self-government in the villages and the socialized sector of agriculture and to develop their role as a partner in agricultural circles and cooperatives, supervisory councils of village cooperatives and food management banks and other organizations and agencies operating in the countryside.

10. The ZSMP Main Board obligates:/

/--The School Youth Council and the Academic Youth Council/, to draft effective ways and means of assuring the participation of the ZSMP in school and academic self-government bodies;

/--The echelons and elements of the ZSMP/, to draft and adopt programs of action with candidates to representative and self-government bodies;

/--The Rural Youth Council at the ZSMP/, to analyze during this year the effectiveness of the participation of ZSMP members in rural and agricultural self-government and draft a plan for cooperation with the institutions serving the countryside and agriculture.

/III. the ZSMP Main Board recommends to the Commission on the Participation of Youth in Representative and Self-Government Bodies/ that it conduct a thorough analysis of the implementation of this Resolution and present the related conclusions at a plenary meeting of the ZSMP to be held in the first half of 1983.

1386

CSO: 2600/7

SZSP SUPREME COUNCIL PLENUM HELD

Report on Plenum

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 27 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Godula]

[Text] Our student milieu needs a socio-professional organization which would bring together active students and young academicians. Such organization ought to accept the constitutional principles of our political system and, at the same time, it ought to also respect the achievements and the traditions of progressive student movement. The above directive concluded on Saturday, 25 September the Seventh Plenary Session of the Polish Socialist Student Union [SZSP]. The three day long debates have taken place in Uniejow, Konin Voivodship, and have been attended by a number of activists from the student organizations of all the institutions of higher learning in our country.

Let us remember that the report of the Executive Committee Supreme Council [RN] SZSP has been delivered by Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of SZSP Supreme Council. Among other things he stated that the efforts undertaken in coming out of the crisis ought to be centered around the idea of national accord. We have, therefore, been in favor of this idea. We are still for it because only a genuine dialogue can lead to clearer perception and formulation of this program's intentions and values. Only such a dialogue could set into motion not yet fully disclosed potential energy of the entire society. The premises of Sawic's speech have been published in the last issue of our paper.

The discussion, marked by many arguments, centered around the future model of student movement. Many of the statements made during this discussion concerned the development of higher schools under the newly functioning ordinance on higher education. They concerned organizational responsibilities in the process of introducing a new government system of student financial aid and the impact that the proclamations of the Ninth Plenum of the party's Central Committee [KC PZPR] had on the entire young generation. The discussants stressed the participatory opportunities that these proclamations have created for youth in the executive process of the government. While they observed that the actual involvement in this process would be up to youth themselves and would depend on their struggle with the negative and the "grab the freebies," give-me attitudes of youth.

An important element of the Seventh Plenum [KN SZSP] debates was the meeting with the minister of learning, higher education and technology, Prof Dr Bronisław Miskiewicz. The meeting concerned the basic problems of academic institutions and higher education in the coming academic year. The meeting took place on Friday, 24 September 1982. Present was General Prof Dr Eugeniusz Włodarczyk, plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee [KOK] in the area of learning, higher education and technology.

The minister explained among other things the method of realization of the ordinance on higher education which came into force on 1 September 1982. The ordinance is to be introduced gradually. It will depend on the progress of the review work done on the university statutes and on educational values. Students ought to participate actively in the implementation of this statute and in adjusting its individual ordinances to fit the circumstances of each institution of higher learning individually.

One of the most important current problems, stated B. Miskiewicz, is to fulfill the projections of the new scholarship granting system. Introduction of this system will require establishment of student social committees which, patterned after the workplace committees, ought to fulfill some of the functions of self-governing bodies, until such time when these are called into being. These committees will help to distribute the goods that the government has approved for student aid and they will ensure student participation in such distribution.

Activities directed at an improvement in the quality of educational work are of paramount importance, as are those activities which would increase the discipline of the didactic process. The students continue to be subject to our upbringing, despite the fact that they are in possession of their matriculation certificates. The inadequacies in our pedagogical work in the past are the reason for the present wavering in the foundations and in the value systems of our academic environment.

The minister has among other things defined his attitude toward the student movement. "I support," he stressed, "all manifestations of student activity; however, considering institutional self-government, I am not empowered to dictate to the deans what kind of relationship they ought to maintain with their student organizations. The type of authority an organization enjoys depends on its activity and on its participation in the fulfillment of a given school's tasks, especially of these tasks which concern higher education. In this respect an organization ought to be the institution's worthwhile and accountable partner."

Members of the debates addressed many questions to the minister. These concerned study regulations, student participation in the end of August street incidents, conditions of functioning of the academic health services, the future of the upcoming ordinance on postgraduate employment, etc. Many of the specific problems have been discussed also, such as: the decision concerning the Academic Center of Rehabilitation in Zakopane, or the establishment of the West Pomerania University in Szczecin.

The meeting lasted over four hours. It is impossible to quote all the questions and the frequently very wide-scoped answers to them in a short report. It is worth stressing that most of the questions expressed a concern for the future

... education. Among other things it has been established that the ... will meet with the organizational representatives in the next few ... on the arising controversies. In future issues we shall continue to publish the problems that came up during the above discussion.

On Saturday, 25 September, the participants of the Uniejow debates met the manager of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee's Department for Learning and Enlightenment, Doc Dr Eugeniusz Duraczynski. The meeting was devoted chiefly to the tasks of party organizations active in the establishments of higher education, referring especially to academic youth. There were many discussions about the aims and forms of student organization educational activity, as well as about student participation in the management of their schools.

The debates concluded in the adoption of a resolution by the Polish Socialist Student Union Supreme Council [RN SZSP]. This resolution ended an important stage of the several months lasting discussion that concerned the future of the student movement and the preparations for the Fourth Congress of SZSP. As stressed before, the discussion concerned primarily the program which must deal with the problems of the student environment, both those already solved and those upcoming. On the one hand this program must consider the experience gained during the past months, while, on the other hand it must consider the character of the total range of attitudes, positions and points of view that have been expressed during this period.

The resolution has established the following organizational composition to represent the new pluralist make-up of the student movement; socioprofessional organizations, ideopolitical organizations and student self-government. Based on SZSP and on all the student groups presently active, a socioprofessional, student organization ought to be called to life. The Supreme Council SZSP, having not predetermined individual solutions, has suggested that such an organization ought to be independent, especially in the personnel and programming matters as well as in the financial matters. It should bring together students and young academicians.

We propose an organization open in its world view. It ought to become an activating platform for the students and its program ought to be based on acceptance of the systemic principles of the Polish constitution. This does not mean that such an organization would be apolitical through negation, because it would become an example of its own creative activity for itself, for the environment and for the school.

The purpose of such an organization is to break through the popular apathy and its political nature will be contained in its ability and possibility of influencing the working out of the solutions in the sphere of higher education, social politics and matters concerning the young generation. It will also create the appropriate conditions to nurture a broader discussion of ideals, values and of the development problems of our country.

In creating such a socioprofessional organization there will be a place for all the presently active members of SZSP, it was stated in the conclusion of this resolution. The Supreme Council is of the opinion that there are functional



ibilities for all the political activists of the SZSP in the ideological upbringing of the multienvironmental organizations, or in other forms of organizational solutions presently taking shape in the schools of higher learning.

Also adopted were the resolutions concerning such matters of higher education as the distribution of the mandates, and the status of the observers of the Fourth SZSP Congress to take place in Warsaw between 4 and 7 November. This congress should be for the SZSP the final stage in coestablishing of the socioprofessional organization. Its programming and its organizational shape decisions ought to be based on the mutual consultations between all the groups of student activity that are to take part in this process besides the SZSP. The full structure of the socioprofessional organization will have to be determined after the congress.

The debates' participants accepted a resolution in which the activists of the SZSP expressed their protest of the barbaric murders in Beirut. This resolution stated that the Israeli Government carries all the moral and political responsibility for that bestial act comparable to the fascist crimes and to the crimes of the American aggressor in Vietnam. We expect the UN forum to condemn Israel's policy and to take the necessary measures proscribed by the UN Charter. We demand an end to the Near East war which represents a threat to world peace.

The Seventh Plenary Session of the Supreme Council SZSP in its Uniejow debates has formulated a specific proposal addressed to the students and to young academicians who are concerned about the problems facing our academic environment. We must make our stand on this offer clear as the time has come to end considerations of the model and to begin action on the implementation of this model. Such an action assigns, more than any other thing, the role for the student environment in the life of our society.

#### Supreme Council Report Theses

Warsaw, SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 24-26 Sep 82 p 2

[Text] The experiences of the last 2 years have again sharply placed certain questions before each of us and before all the groups of society. These questions concern our place in society and the role we ought to fulfill in it. They have forced us to reflect upon such categories as country, nation, sovereignty. Our finding of the individual and group responses to these questions is indispensable in order to regain our psychic sanity and an uniformity of appraisals of our situation. Otherwise we shall sentence ourselves to the emotional scratching of the wounds and to a deeper and deeper immersion in the abyss.

The intellectuals are of particular importance in the ongoing discussion. In the student environment and organization we must ponder what are the responsibilities and what is the place of the intelligentsia in a socialist society. Spelling out the needs and expectations of this social group we must not abandon the specific duties of the intellectuals toward their society and toward their country.

the student environment represents many different political and world views. These differences have widened especially during the past 2 years. Thus, it is imperative that the shape of the student movement be adjusted to accommodate the pluralistic character of this environment. Due to the rapid changeover, specific to the student group and resulting from a relatively short period of studies, it is necessary to maintain an autonomous student organization which would ensure continuity of the tradition of the progressive socialist student movement in Poland. All student organizations must respect the PRL constitutional order, and, by their activities, they must contribute to the realization of constructive educational and social programs.

For this group the existence of a socioprofessional organization is a must. Such an organization ought to be open to all the students and it ought to integrate the rationally thinking part of our society within the framework of their patriotic and civic deeds and responsibilities.

The tasks, which this organization has an opportunity and a duty to be equal to, are its participation in the education of the ideological organizational cadre through the economic education, through the inculcation of the competent, well-organized work habits, through the dynamism of thought and action, and through the shaping of a posture of involvement and of civic responsibility.

The activities of this socioprofessional organization must fit as a logical component of the total educational system of higher education.

No student organization could be silent in what concerns the principal current issues of our country.

To be politically engaged must mean for this organization to know how and to be able to influence the decisions concerning higher education and social policy. Such activities serve a mutual understanding and stability, they serve the working toward positive solutions. Silence on this matter would be tantamount to the shrugging off of the small part of these responsibilities which rest upon the students and it would be like giving up the influence we ought to exert on the reality around us. Such silence would result in our being shifted to the margins of our society and in the adoption of a posture of internal exiles.

It will be quite important for this socioprofessional organization to achieve an agreement between political directives and individual aims. Such possibilities must be created which would permit an open and sincere discussion and the search for values within a warranted margin of freedom and a right to err. Only in these conditions can the educational function develop fully and only then can it shape prosocialist and prostate attitudes.

The common front. In the student environment there is a place, besides the socioprofessional organization, for the activities of other social organizations. All these organizations ought to show a common front of social activity and ought to inculcate proper civic postures. They ought to complement each other's activities and create the possibilities of development for this part of the environment which identifies itself with the Marxist ideas and which wants to continue its own ideational and political activities. Student government ought to supplement the activities of this socioprofessional and other organizations within this social group.

WARSZAWA SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 28 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Godula]

[Text] The successive Plenum of RN SZSP which took place last week in Uniejow has ended the essential segment of its discussion of the future student involvement model. This discussion, perhaps somewhat extended and tedious to some of the observers, has unanimously proven that the student movement does not want to part from its progressive, democratic traditions, but on the contrary, it intends to develop and use them to a well-conceived advantage for the present student generation.

It is known that the present student situation differs from that of a year, 5 or 20 years ago. Nonetheless, the student movement has been always characterized by openness, fast response to the changes that have occurred throughout the country and within the academic community itself. Considering the above characteristics, let us look back at the changes that have been going on in the SZSP since its inception nearly 10 years ago.

After September of 1980 this organization has lived through a powerful wave of social criticism. That criticism had been partly deserved. It has resulted from the functional inadequacies of this organization, or from the government errors in dealing with youth and with higher education. However, in part, that criticism has expressed a straightforward rejection of the so-called pre-August structures. It was not based on any specific principles, but rather was in full accord with the political purposes of the creators and sponsors of then newly formed student organizations.

Has the Union taken into consideration the constructive tendencies of that criticism? Undoubtedly, it has. A program of far-reaching intra-organizational reform was sketched already at the end of September 1980, during the annual council of student activists in Uniejow, and it was sanctioned 3 months later, during the Third Congress of SZSP. This organization was in full support of the program directed at its own democratization, at its ideological openness, decentralization of rights and social controls. The pre-August ballast has been cast overboard.

Nearly 2 years have passed since that time. Our historical scenario is now quite different in so far as the students are concerned. The changes that have occurred in the SZSP during that time proved to be insufficient. The participants of this year's Uniejow debates had to reach the conclusion that the present student organization structures do not activate the students quite so successfully. This conclusion has been reached after a long assessment to our experiences up till now. As always, the students ought to be a group of people who take a lively part in the life of their school and their country.

The Supreme Council SZSP came to a conviction that the new structure of student movement ought to consist of: a socioprofessional organization, ideopolitical organizations and the student self-governing body. Such model can be adjusted

to the real and to the projected requirements and needs of this group. While the chief task of the SZSP ought to be in co-creating the socioprofessional organization with the active members of the cultural and tourist clubs, science circles, student job cooperatives, dormitory councils, etc.

In this situation the Fourth Congress SZSP, planned for the beginning of November, ought to be the final stage in creation of the socioprofessional organization. Any decisions by the Congress concerning the program and functioning principles of such organization must, naturally, be based on an agreement with all the student groups interested in a given idea. The full structure of this organization may take shape through a practical application of the Congress-outlined directives, after the Congress is already over, since the Congress itself would not be able to foresee the specific individual solutions. They will come to life only through practice.

What is the emerging structure of the socioprofessional organization in discussion as of now? In the resolution adopted at the Seventh Plenum IRN SZSPI it was stated that such an organization ought to be independent as far as the personnel, program, and its finances would go. It ought to bring together students and young academicians. Its program and its finances ought to be worked out from the bottom up, while the organization itself ought to be equipped with an effective system of control mechanisms in what concerns higher organizational levels.

Further on, it should be open on the matters of the world views. Its program ought to be founded on the acceptance of the system's constitutional principles. Its political engagement is to be marked by the possibilities and ability of influencing the solutions in the sphere of higher education, social policy and matters concerning young generation. At the same time it ought to safeguard the appropriate conditions for a broad discussion of ideals, values and programs of national development. There is a need of such discussions among the students.

What are the main areas of activity of such organization? These are: culture and tourism, organization of free time, academic life of the students, help in learning and studying, in these--printing and commission sales of manuals and manuscripts, socioeconomic problems such as the intermediating offices of employment and the loan or financial aid bureaus. This organization ought to be concerned about the problems encountered by the graduate student, connected mainly with entering the job market and finding a place to live. Next, a point of ambition of such an organization ought to be in creating conducive conditions of development of student intellectual life, discussion clubs, journalistic and publishing activities, etc. This organization must clearly develop the achievements and strengthen the position of the Polish student movement in the international forum.

Only full equality in the light of the law for all the strata of student activity can be regarded as the main principle of the internal life of the socioprofessional organization. Operational mechanisms ought to guarantee an influence in political and in all the essential decisions for each active student group. Moreover, an organization arising from the foundations of the present student movement ought to subsume all of its heritage and the rights it has achieved. The above refers to the student clubs, job service bureaus, tourist centers, publications and press as well as the "Almatur" Office of Travel and Tourism of SZSP.

The proposal for a new model of student movement has thus been formulated. We shall add that this proposal must be counted as binding for it has been put forward by the only autonomous student organization active under the present martial law. In this model, postulated by the Supreme Council SZSP there is a place for every student who wants to contribute personally to the life of our society.

So, let us start a discussion....

9934

CSO: 2600/27



KOSZALIN PZPR FIRST SECRETARY INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 23, 26 Sep 82 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Eugeniusz Jakubaszek, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Koszalin, by Wacław Orfin: "Sincerity for Sincerity"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Secretary, all it took was one phone call and here I am talking to you--something which would have been difficult to even imagine not too long ago. Does this mean that the party is stepping down from its pedestal or is this an example of your independence?

[Answer] Neither. I simply feel that party members should and even have a moral obligation to present their opinions to the public and that they should fight publicly for their causes and gain support for them. The Ninth Plenum, which outlined the framework for Party dialogue with youth is behind us and we have already completed such a "youth" plenum in our voivodship committee, a conversation with the representative of the weekly which is geared toward young readers. Therefore, I feel it is only natural to expand the dialogue which we carry on every day with the youth of our voivodship.

[Question] In one of your remarks, you described the meetings with the young workers of various work establishments as stormy and difficult. What issues do their questions concern; with what do young people agree or disagree?

[Answer] Their questions are most often inspired by suspicion and reserve toward the actions undertaken by the authorities. We are, therefore, sipping in what we have brewed in previous years. The reserved and distrustful attitude on the part of young people is an outward sign of their close attachment to the ideals of socialism and their sensitivity to all forms of departure from them and the signs of corruption. Therefore, in the course of discussion, we must be thoroughly convincing in respect to the reasoning that we present. However, what matters most is that young people feel the need for discussion and for an exchange of ideas and that following a meeting we part with respect for each other. This respect comes from the principle which we have adopted and which is consistently adhered to and which is also acceptable to the other side: "Sincerity for sincerity".

[Question] This is an evasive answer. My question was to the point. It pertained to the way young people perceive our present situation. Can't this question be answered directly?

[Answer] Yes, it can. For example, at the invitation of 120 scout instructors and youth from secondary schools who participated in the "Bieszczady 40" [Beskids 40] action, I paid a visit to their camp. One of the basic questions asked was: How much longer will martial law remain in effect in Poland? I asked them to give me examples proving that martial law really does create serious problems in their life, studies, work and recreation. They were unable to do this. Therefore, I explained to them why similar questions are suggested to youth by certain people and what they expect to gain by this. Their aim, I continued to explain, is to provoke you into demonstrating and protesting and at the same time into destruction--outward signs of social desperation and the power of dissent.

[Question] Youth from secondary schools are concerned with different matters; this is why their argument is weak. As an example of the real disadvantages of martial law, I would give the suspension of activity of institutions which are important to social life such as trade unions or even the limiting of possibilities for social consultation and citizen participation in the undertaking of decisions. This is, among others, one of the important factors holding back reform, especially in the eyes of the young, and without the participation of young workers and specialists, reform, as we all know, stands little chance for success.

[Answer] I can agree with this statement, although, I have not as yet heard it from the lips of young people themselves. Of course, we need trade unions--the party has stated this clearly. We are consistently aiming to have them reactivated in accordance with the wishes and needs of the labor class. However, discussion on the form of the future trade movement which has been proposed by the Committee of the Council of Ministers has been blocked by members of the suspended trade union "Solidarity". We are, therefore, opting for self-governments and we declare that we will do everything possible so that they will be activated by the end of this year there where the work force wants them. We are showing total consistency of conduct--we want to have true representatives of the work force for a partner in discussion and not leaders fished out from various inspirations.

[Question] You have said that discussion in regard to trade unions which has been proposed by the party was ignored by the opposition and suppressed in various ways. The subsequent proposal for entering into discussion concerns the workers' self-government. "Solidarity", however, was as we remember, mainly a movement of the young, of the young labor class. Since the opposition succeeded in convincing them that discussion doesn't do any good, your well known theory that there is no such thing as a lost generation does not inspire much support.

[Answer] The suppression of discussion does not indicate that there was no exchange of ideas or conflicting opinions. They did take place but in narrower spheres, in workshops, among work brigades and during breaks. The exchange of opinions was lacking, however, on a larger scale usually because

people who dared have an opinion of their own were harassed. We had many instances where people were harried with anonymous letters and other similar matters. We have also recently witnessed the devaluation of the idea itself of discussion. We are, moreover, bearing the consequences of a lack of confidence in the party by society resulting from mistakes committed in the past which is expressed, among other things, in the opinion of many party members as well, that "what is the point of carrying on discussions when they will do as they please anyway". We must work for and earn a change of attitude on the part of society. It seems to me that many prejudices could be overcome by youth organizations--mainly ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth].

However, we have no right to talk about lost generation; we cannot allow ourselves to talk this way. This is as if though we agreed that we can do without the best educated, vocationally prepared and raised part of our citizens in a socialist society. We cannot do without them and any other approach to the issue is plain cowardice in the face of difficulty. Such an attitude toward the nation's most valuable element is an insult to young people; history would judge us severely for this. We must fight for the young generation, concern ourselves with bringing them to our reasoning and finally to win their cooperation.

[Question] In your opinion, then, the introduction of martial law which eliminated the influence of extremist tendencies had a positive, sobering effect on young people and on bringing their expectations down to the exigencies of reality?

[Answer] Yes, I am convinced of that. Please remember the forms of propaganda activity used by "Solidarity"--total negation of party actions and of the government. The introduction of martial law placed a dam on one-sided brainwashing; we have created conditions for the cooling down of emotions and have given time for the reaching of conclusions from the assessment of the internal and external situation in which Poland has found itself. The introduction of martial law discipline has, in addition, created a chance for the restoration of normal functioning to the economy. By slowly filling store shelves, we are giving credence to our actions; we are building a bridge of trust toward the authorities and toward that which the authorities wish to achieve. This factor seems to me to be of utmost importance from the point of view of the interests of the state and the nation.

[Question] The filling up of store shelves or at least a visible improvement in this regard takes time. Young people are not too inclined to wait; they want to implement their ideas about life right now. Shouldn't we, therefore, bearing in mind the aroused aspirations of the young, shift the formal and informal capacities of influencing decisionmaking and the subjective participation in the implementation of these decisions onto the status of the citizen [status obywatela]?

[Answer] The answer was given at the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee. We made it clear at this time that we want all of our decisions to be mutual decisions--after all, it is the young who will live and work after those on whom the burden of authority rests today in our socialist nation. Within this context, the party wants to carry on an honest, open dialogue with young

people but this also means that the young must understand that all good things come from work and that it is only through work that we can achieve anything. A considerable part of young people already realize that this is the only way; now, in my opinion, the thing is to eliminate apathy, complaining and waiting for a godsend.

[Question] What can and should be done, in your opinion, so that despite the mistakes of the past, youth will seek out possibilities for the implementation of their ideals in the party program?

[Answer] The party has created a definite plane of action--economic reform. It is necessary that young people see their chance in its implementation. That is why, among other things, we have tried to reach wide circles of society here in our voivodship with the basic assumptions of the new principles of economic functioning and to arouse young people, in particular, in support of the reform. This issue, in our opinion, is extremely important because we are introducing our reform under conditions of a severe crisis.

[Question] From conversations which I have had in various work establishments, it appears that in the eyes of the young the concept of reform and the observed reality are two different things.

[Answer] Because reform has not been implemented yet. In our propaganda action, we are making the mistake of not stressing the fact that we are as yet dealing only with the first steps, with clearing the way for its full implementation. This gives rise to the all too common exaggeration of negative occurrences as, for example, speculation and failing to notice the stimulating effect of the reform mechanism on production dependencies [zależności], cooperative alliances and the animation of the market. We will, unfortunately, have to wait for the effects of the reform but we must act today. Difficulty in understanding this dependence comes from the fact that we have taught society to think in terms of consumption without instilling economical thinking because our economy's method of functioning did not make this possible. For this reason, self-government, among other things, is so greatly needed today. This does not mean, however, that negative phenomena should not be fought. We will continue to fight them. For example, at a recent Voivodship Committee Executive Board meeting, we talked about the necessity of introducing, for the interim period, mechanisms that would block possibilities of misuse and preying on people such as, for example, the purchasing of vegetables and fruits from producers and selling them at highly inflated prices.

[Question] In this way, we are introducing yet another factor that limits reform.

[Answer] That is true. However, we must remember that the reform is taking place under conditions of a socialist state and its burden cannot weigh down on those whom it is supposed to serve, i.e., the labor class. The party of this class cannot permit this.

[Question] Does the fact that young people are dominant in the voivodship impose a different style of action and a different concept of party work? What does it facilitate and what does it hinder?

[Answer] Naturally, we have to take into account that demographically speaking and in terms of the direction of development, the voivodship is "young". The percentage of young people, for example, gives rise to a great need for housing. The mentality of the young generation also imposes upon us a specific way of handling matters and undertaking concrete action. We advocate one principle above all others: the need to be with people on an every day basis; it is necessary to talk, to convince, to be patient and to be particularly sensitive to the needs for the individual. In connection with this, we have introduced the availability of political workers for consultation who will be on duty daily--this is in addition to the department of complaints and letters. We are also appointing a Committee for Youth under the auspices of the governor [wojewoda]. Identical committees are being formed under the auspices of city and gmina leaders. Through this daily contact, we want to prove to youth in a tangible, demonstrable way that young people do take part in management, in the administration of things and in decision making.

As to the second part of the question--in many cases, it is more difficult for us to function. The paradox lies in that it is more difficult to function particularly when dealing with the implementation of new things. It is true that young people are easily excited, however, the dominant trait in the behavior and thinking of young people today is, as I have said before, mistrust and anticipation.

Following the euphoria of success of the 1970's came disenchantment with the severity of the crisis in which we have found ourselves. "Solidarity" has blamed us not only for the existing situation but also for the inability to perceive evil and a lack of skill in drawing conclusions for the future from the mistakes committed. This was conscious destructive work [on the part of "Solidarity"], and we were, unfortunately, unable in our propaganda to take full advantage of either the fact that most of "Solidarity's" postulates were formulated considerably earlier at party meetings or of the settling of accounts which was carried out at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party and the program which was accepted at that time.

Furthermore, "Solidarity's" propaganda proclaimed that if we were only to restrict the incompetent interfering of the party in managing and administering, we would quickly transform Poland into another Japan; we, on the other hand, present things as they are by honestly presenting the scope of sacrifices to be made and the extent of difficulties standing before us--this is the way to gain popularity.

We were being hit below the belt with contentions of trying to bypass or break the transacted social agreement while nothing was being said about the fact that at the Ninth Congress, we clearly stated that the party will be true to the Szczecin, Gdansk and Jastrzebie agreements. I also believe--and in order not to develop this train of thought in excess --that one of the imperceptible and yet crucial reasons for the reserved attitude on the part of youth is the lack of quarrelsome, active hotheads, young agitators and youth leaders at the level of circles, work organizations and higher. The party will not fill in this gap. It can only build support for a partnership-like treatment of the young generation and of the authority of its



leaders; it can also effectively persuade in favor of its proclaimed ideals without fearing discussion on any subject. People should be told the truth; even the most bitter and painful truth will be accepted by all. However, lies and concealment will no longer be accepted today.

[Question] I propose a change of topic. Of equal interest to our readers, next to the evaluation of the actual existing situation, is the person of the first secretary itself. A young voivodship, a young echelon and a young first secretary. Does this also apply to your experience as an activist?

[Answer] First of all, a question: Does the age of 36 authorize one to fence with the concept of youth? This still is the case with us [in the party]. However, I would not consider this to be something of an event. I am aware, however, that in contrast to the rather generally encountered situation in the past, for many persons the young age of the team in Koszalin or in other voivodships seems to be something of a surprise. However, we would prefer to be judged by the results of our work. Personally, I would also like to avoid at any cost having the voivodship echelon identified with the surname of Jakubaszek--attributing excessive credit to specific persons has already brought much harm to our party and we all have weaknesses which can be used to flatter our vanity and self-content.

I began my political career from the very bottom--from the position of secretary of a rural party organization. I worked in a rural community as a teacher and later as a gmina school principal. My association with the scout movement goes back to that time: I was and still am a scouting instructor. Currently, I am fulfilling the function of chairman of the Voivodship Friends of Scouting Council. I have been active in the party apparatus for 7 years, always remaining here in our area. However, my name has been better known in connection with the crude oil from Karlin--that is where I fulfilled the responsibilities of first secretary before coming to the Voivodship Committee. There was even a joke made in connection with this that I flowed into a wider body of water on crude oil [approximate rendition]...

[Question] In connection with the principle which you have adopted as being of primary importance in your life, can you reveal to our readers some other details of your private life such as, for example, your interests or what you think about during moments of reflection on your own life? After all, everyone of us has moments of reflection--taking a look at oneself from a distance.

[Answer] When one works 12-15 hours per day, there is little time for one's private life or hobbies. Therefore, even when I am able to find the time to go fishing, I tend to think more about official matters than about fishing. Fortunately, my wife and daughter do not reproach me for my commitments outside of the home. As far as what I am thinking when I look at myself in the mirror while shaving?

I answered this with a statement made at a voivodship conference after being selected for the post of first secretary: my greatest desire is to leave this function in a different way than that in which my predecessors have left--in a natural way. We in the party must learn this, otherwise our hands will

always be tied. It seems to me that one road leads to this goal: to act in such a way so that after leaving one's post one can talk to people and look them in the eye with a feeling of a job well done and with clean hands and a clear conscience.

I have hope that we will be successful in implementing this endeavor here in Koszalin.

9853

CSO: 2600/15

ZSMP LEADER OUTLINES POSITION, PROPOSALS ON HOUSING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the Main Board, Union of Socialist Polish Youth]

[Text] The current housing situation is felt most acutely by the young generation. Therefore, the significance attached by the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] to the development of construction results from the union's principle of representation of the interests of the youth, who constitute approximately 75 percent of those awaiting housing: 2,027,000 members and candidate-members registered in the housing cooperatives. The large number of young people who are from the villages and small cities and are also faced with the problem of their own housing shortage, must be added to this total.

The Third Extraordinary Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth devoted special attention to the housing problem. In the Union of Socialist Polish Youth's position presented to the government concerning the housing problem, we assume that the state's new housing policy should be based upon the following principles:

The development of construction should be treated as an important social and economic problem which is influenced by a series of systems: economic-financial, administrative-legal, ecological, and spatial national management issues, demographic, organizational and construction management, preservation of the existing housing supply etc.

Housing, together with the entire infrastructure, should serve the family as the basic social unit. Thus, not only the administration and the contractors but also future users should participate in the definition of its shape and function.

The new housing policy requires a solution to a series of additional problems, the most essential in our opinion being:

a) Implementation of the principle "one family per dwelling." This problem elicits many justifiable discussions. From the social point of view, this principle should be complied with in an unequivocal manner.

- b) A change in the structure of housing construction. The preference currently is for small apartments, a factor which diminishes the housing problem only superficially and temporarily. The share of small dwellings in the existing complexes significantly surpasses the percentage of small families among the entire population.
- c) Assignment of small-dimension premises as temporary dwellings for young couples from the existing housing supply. Specifically, this concerns the cooperative residential complexes completed during the so-called period of budget-conscious construction.
- d) Appropriate exploitation of the old housing supply, which in large part determines the housing conditions of the populace.
- e) A change in the role of the designer in the design of residential communities and apartments. The designer should serve as an exponent of the needs of the individual, and not as the representative of the interests of the builder imposing his rigid technology.

#### Cooperative Forces

The housing program of the current decade requires complete consolidation of forces and means by all partners participating in or capable of participation in the fulfillment of housing construction.

Principally, we feel that it is essential to develop low-cost technology. Activities in this direction will perhaps bring about the most rapid results through the realization of low-rise construction, such as that which is being carried out by small cooperatives and associations.

With this goal in mind, the union [ZSMP] initiates the establishment and organization of youth labor cooperatives for construction. These cooperatives work closely with the youth groups organizing housing construction. They utilize construction material production potential on the basis of existing local raw materials in brick-making plants and construction-component manufacturing enterprises closed in previous years.

Apart from the economic effects, additional construction in great degree decreases the cost of houses as well as multi-family buildings. This comes about from the fact that future residents of the youth complexes themselves produce the necessary materials.

Of course, we are aware of the fact that it is not possible to depart from large panel technology. It is essential, however, to undertake those organizational and research activities and initiatives which will result in the decrease of production costs of large-pane components. The choice of technology should be the result of economic reckoning, and not a case of coercion, in which a large part of the housing cooperatives find themselves.

#### "Build It Yourself"

For many years, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth has undertaken diverse activities with regard to construction, the direct results being the

construction by young people of over 50,000 units in the last 11 years, due to Union of Socialist Polish Youth initiative. Based upon the experiences of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth in the sponsorship of housing construction, and the utilization grass-roots social initiatives, we have defined the subsequent direction of our activities regarding construction. It brings about the organization and development of a social movement for housing construction by exerting influence on its form. We benefit from the assistance given by the Young Deputies Group, the Young Councilors Group, youth experts and advisers. By organizing a social movement, we strive for the construction of one family as well as multi-family buildings with the assistance of their future residents. Therefore, the youth cooperatives and one-family building associations are summoned with this objective in mind.

The first tenant cooperatives being established are those which will carry out multi-family housing construction. Nationwide, over 300 youth cooperatives and associations have been established in the last few months. The initiatives are spreading systematically.

In the majority of enterprises, initiative groups are established which utilize the young peoples' lack of prospects in housing procurement to advocate "build it yourself."

Housing can also be secured through the conversion of offices, attics, and uninhabited units into suitable living units. Specifically, this concerns cities possessing old housing. The problem also appears in new complexes in high-rise buildings where the last floor designed as a laundry and drying room is not being used for that purpose.

We continue this construction sponsorship with the support of industrial enterprises and all other institutions having the technical means to carry out this work.

Its accomplishment is based upon years of experience, including negative examples of nonfulfillment of signed understandings and agreements on the part of many housing cooperatives. The development of the sponsored construction requires a glance at this problem from the perspective of achievement of tangible additional results brought about by work done by the youth brigades. Sponsored construction cannot delay the allocation of housing to those individuals awaiting procurement of housing from the cooperatives.

#### Question Marks

In our activities, capable of moderating the housing shortage, we come upon many formal and organizational barriers. The following, among other are the basic ones: unfavorable financial conditions particularly in respect to interest rates. Likewise, the government proposal for 4 percent annual interest will not assist in the development of youth associations and one-family dwelling construction cooperatives. Such high interest rates will almost double payments, and monthly rates will reach several thousand zlotys. Taking the social situation of young families into consideration, the undertaking of the building of their own homes, or apartments in multi-family dwellings,



by the majority of those awaiting housing appears to be unrealistic. These opinions were obtained by us from members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth on the basis of consultations and discussions on the assumptions of the new housing policy.

The Union of Socialist Polish Youth supports the position that the housing problem in Poland can be resolved through youth involvement, but at the same time appropriate conditions must be established so as to assist them in carrying out such a role. We support the fact that it is necessary to maintain consistent and evenhanded development of all forms of construction, and to guarantee them equal organizational, technical and financial terms.

The swiftest preparation and allocation of at least several hundred thousand lots for one-family and low-rise multi-family housing construction is necessary for the cooperatives and associations being organized. Those organizations fulfilling their contracts should be guaranteed priority in the allocation of these lots. Also necessary are decisions governing the transfer of existing guarantees for multi-family housing construction projects being carried out by small cooperatives.

In our efforts, we encounter reluctance and bureaucratic treatment of the youth association and construction cooperative organizers by a portion of the local state administration and also by many existing housing cooperatives.

The Union of Socialist Polish Youth will undertake all activities, which will hasten a solution to the housing problem, with active youth participation. We believe that both the resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party that is concerned in part with this theme, as well as the decisions undertaken by the government, will be reflected in effective actions by local and voivodship authorities.

12229

CSO: 2600/20

CRIME SITUATION, POLICE DUTIES, PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Impact of Crisis Situation

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 40, 3 Oct 82 p 15

[Interview with Citizens' Militia Captain Jan Rupinski by Wladyslaw Misiolek, date and location of interview not given]

[Text] Captain Jan Rupinski: 17 years of service in the MO [Citizens' Militia]; up from a regular militiaman to a post commander, WSO [Provincial Fire Department] lecturer in Szczytno, district commander, head of the crime department in the Provincial MO Command in Ostroleka and Senior Inspector of the Crime Bureau of the Main MO Command.

[Question] Comrade Captain, are we a society threatened by crime?

[Answer] Yes, and to a greater degree than several years ago. Recently the number of crimes averaged 250,000 per year. The year 1981 was the worst. While in previous years, the increase in crime was less than 4 percent yearly, in 1981 it rose by 45 percent! This was the result of social unrest, the progressive penetration of anarchism into life and the economic crisis.

The data on the consequences of criminal activity is also alarming: over 1,000 persons are killed each year; several thousand are beaten and crippled. Over 1,400 women and 170 children are victims of rape.

[Question] Children?

[Answer] Yes, children as well, from 2 to 15 years of age. The material losses are estimated at 4 billion zlotys.

[Question] This prompts the question: are we under a greater threat than the societies of other countries?

[Answer] Fortunately we are safer. As proof I cite the following data: per 100,000 inhabitants, the index of the increase in crime was sixfold lower than

in Sweden and the United States and fivefold lower than in the FRG, Japan, Great Britain and Finland. Incidentally, I should add that our level of crime detection is higher. In the case of theft, for example, it is twofold higher than in the FRG.

[Question] Let us return to Polish soil. Did martial law check the sudden increase in crime that occurred in 1981?

[Answer] Yes, the negative trend declined sharply. In January 1982, the number of crimes declined by 15.7 percent by comparison with a similar period in 1981. Unfortunately, each successive month has brought an increase in crime and the index for the first 6 months of 1982 was only 1.1 percent lower than in the first 6 months of 1981.

[Question] According to this data, there is a close link between the national situation and crime. What has a greater impact on the increase in crime, the economic crisis or the moral crisis?

[Answer] Crisis situations as a rule engender emotions and attitudes that threaten public law and order. The blatant disrespect of the law and the principles of social coexistence, weakened discipline and the attacks on the organs of authority and administration, including on the militia, that we witnessed after 1980 fostered the growth of criminal elements. This increased the threat to personal security and the tranquility of citizens, their interests and property.

Our economic difficulties have caused an increase in crimes against property. I am speaking of the theft of articles that bring a high profit and rationed goods. The falsification of ration cards and trading them is a new phenomenon. Reformed criminals have relapsed into crime; at the same time, those who formerly did not commit crimes have begun to travel that route. An interest in weapons has sprung up among criminal elements--in purchasing and producing them and using them when crimes are committed.

[Question] Is there data to confirm this phenomenon?

[Answer] Of course there is. During an 8-month period in 1982, the militia confiscated over 1,000 firearms, nearly 43,000 pieces of ammunition and 116 kg of explosives.

Another phenomenon of this period has been an increase in terrorist crimes, including terrorist attacks on public buildings. There is a tendency toward the internationalization of certain crimes, for example, the smuggling of narcotics and airplane hijacks. We are also encountering an irrational increase in aggression and bestiality toward crime victims. Cases of the torturing of victims to force them to turn over money or valuables are widespread.

It is not only the economic crisis that has caused these phenomena: the moral crisis likewise has brought them about. What's more, there has been an

increase in such crimes as the desecration of monuments of gratitude and national symbols. The underlying cause of this phenomenon is the moral crisis exacerbated by antisocialist propaganda.

Crimes that arise as a result of a decline in certain values are all the more disturbing since the struggle against them requires considerably more time and more comprehensive action.

[Question] Criminal detection depends on the help of society to a tremendous degree. Can you count on such help now, when the militia is under attack from the antisocialist opposition and foreign propaganda centers?

[Answer] It is true that the mistrust and unwillingness of a part of society at present makes our work much more difficult. Some people make totally invented accusations against us. Sometimes these are people whom we rush to assist. In spite of this, as always in the past, we try to help all crime victims in the same way.

It is in the interest of society to cooperate with the militia in eliminating socially pathological phenomena that engender crime, and in detecting crime.

[Question] Society should be interested in this, but is it?

[Answer] Fortunately there are still many instances of such cooperation, not only on the part of victims or persons close to them. For example: after the murder of sergeant Karos many witnesses came forth. We also received many phone calls and letters relating the circumstances of the murder. The inhabitants of the Biala Podlaska, Siedle and Lublin voivodships were of great help to us in apprehending the dangerous bandit Korycki. There are many such examples and we are grateful for such an attitude among people. I do not hide the fact, however, that we expect more cooperation with the militia in the uncovering and elimination of socially pathological phenomena, particularly child care-upbringing neglect, alcoholism and prostitution, all phenomena that engender crime.

[Question] Comrade Captain, what is the level of detection of the perpetrators of crime? I am asking this, for one encounters the opinion that it is worse than shown in official statistics.

[Answer] The statistical data neither was nor is false. It is a fact, however, that it does not reveal the total menace of crime. There are a certain number of crimes--a small number, I believe, of which neither we nor society are aware. This is because not all victims report them, for various reasons. In the case of rape, one is ashamed to speak out; one who is robbed remains silent because he is afraid of questions concerning the sources from which he gained his wealth; sometimes a victim fears revenge. Such cases cause the phenomenon of a hidden number of crimes in our statistics, although this is a small number. With regard to the effectiveness of our activities, the high level of detection of criminals is a fact.

[Question] What are the figures?

[Answer] In 1979 it was 86.2 percent. In 1980 it was somewhat worse, by 1.2 percent the disruptions in public life had an impact on this. In 1981 there was a sudden drop, the greatest in 20 years. I do not have to tell you why--the reason was the initiation of martial law. As life returned to normal, the effectiveness of our actions increased and the index improved by 7.5 percent (from 64.8 percent for the December-January 1981 period to 72.3 percent during a similar period in 1982). Our index of detection in cases of crimes against the life and health of citizens is especially high, standing at 90 percent.

[Question] But there is still a little way to go to 100 percent. Is this because these crimes are perfect?

[Answer] Militia practice shows that there are no such crimes. They do not exist, despite the fact that criminals resort to various methods of covering their tracks and leading militia astray, for example, the drowning or burning of victims' corpses, the simulation of an automobile accident or a suicide. The apprehension of a criminal is merely a matter of time. For example: in 1969 in Rzepin (Lublin voivodship), a mass murder of the Lipy family was committed and their dwelling was burned to cover the traces. In spite of this, the murderers were apprehended within a year, in addition to which, three other crimes came to light, including one from 1950.

[Question] Does the mystery of the murder of B. Piasecki's son and the robbery of the bank near Jasna Street in Warsaw remain unsolved?

[Answer] Yes, but the militia is still working on these cases.

Even when the investigation of a particular case is discontinued, this does not mean that a criminal is in the clear. Such a case is appropriately coded, especially those features that enable the identification of the criminal, and it may be clarified during an investigation of another case. With current methods and means of conducting an investigation, a criminal does not have a chance. It is merely a question of when he gets his just deserts.

[Question] It is said that the opportunity makes the thief. Can society really defend itself against crime?

[Answer] Nothing spurs on a burglar or thief more than the opportunity itself. Such opportunities are: leaving a dwelling unguarded and unlocked and hiding money and valuables in readily accessible places. It is no better with regard to the security of public property. Bars and padlocks on the doors of warehouses and stores are "decorations" that are no trouble for even a beginner. Often an entire days receipts are left in a store or kiosk. The security of museums and churches is especially bad.

Cost cutting methods of housing construction, for example, doors made of plywood, make life very easy for criminals. Real locks are still lacking, not



to mention electronic alarms. In a certain sense, the lack of care for public and private property is due to our system of insurance protection. A warehouse manager is not too upset about the eventuality of being robbed, since the warehouse is insured and the PZU [State Insurance Bureau] will cover the losses.

The most effective method of social self-defense against crime is the battle against social pathology of which I have spoken. If this struggle is not undertaken on a broad scale, society will be threatened more and more by crime.

[Question] Comrade Captain finally a question of a personal nature. What did you earn in your 17 years of service?

[Answer] I have gained much professional experience of tremendous value in my specialization. There were also several instances in which I experienced great satisfaction in my work. This was the case in 1973, when I led an investigation of the murder of a family of six people in the Kurpie region. In spite of the fact that the perpetrator burned the dwelling and the corpses were charred, we apprehended the criminal the following day.

[Question] My question was of a different nature. What were your earnings in the material sense?

[Answer] One does not join the militia to make money.

[Question] But "informed sources" say that there are privileges.

[Answer] I too heard of these privileges, for the first time in 1980, when I was surprised to learn, for example, that the allowance for a child of a militiaman was more than 1,000 zlotys.

[Question] How much do you receive?

[Answer] I received and continue to receive 250 zlotys for two children. To return to the question: I earned, or rather, my wife and I earned a cooperative apartment and a car, on which we have been paying installment payments for 5 years; I also earned a number of occupational diseases.

[Question] The MO holiday is approaching. Comrade Captain, please accept our best wishes for you and for all those who are part of the difficult militia service. Thank you for the interview.

#### Woman's Police Career

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 7 Oct 82 pp 1,3

[Interview with Captain Anna Dubel, senior inspector of the Lublin KW [Voivodship Committee] MO [Citizens' Militia] Investigation Department by Waldemar Piasecki; date and location of interview not given]

[Question] Captain, do you enjoy conducting cases of currency speculation?

[Answer] Yes, it is even said that it is a sort of specialty with me.

[Question] Then the foreign currency speculators must be afraid of you. It must make them unable to sleep at night.

[Answer] No, they sleep peacefully. It is very difficult to pursue the illegal foreign currency trade. It is difficult to prove guilt. One must either catch the person making the transaction redhanded or bring sellers and buyers to an admission of guilt.

[Question] Then how do you cope with these foreign currency speculators?

[Answer] I manage. I know this element very well. I know more or less whom I can depend on and for what. I also have help from my colleagues from the Criminal Department, who are ready to catch criminals redhanded.

[Question] What is your greatest success in your work with foreign currency speculators?

[Answer] My greatest success was the case of Jerzy G. from 1975. He was arrested together with three others. The entire foursome was tried and sentenced. There were over a dozen suspects.

[Question] What did this Jerzy G. do?

[Answer] He purchased dollars in large quantities and sold them at a profit. He did this personally and through his agents. Usually he stood before the PKO [Polish Security Bank] and accosted customers who were on their way out. One of the accused, who worked in Czechoslovakia, brought him a massive haul of dollars. When we had enough evidence, we arrested Jerzy G. He was then brought in to me.

[Question] And he admitted his guilt.

[Answer] Evidently you do not know this trade. They deny their guilt even when there is an ironclad case against them. That is one of the principles of this "profession." Jerzy G. denied his guilt even when he was identified during a confrontation. He maintained that he did not know the people who had identified him. He only admitted to selling PKO goods coupons. In the end he got 4 years. The others received suspended sentences. Of course, all of them had trouble with revenue penalties regulations.

[Question] Do you remember how much the dollars went for?

[Answer] They bought them for 82-85 zlotys and sold them for 95 zlotys.

[Question] What is the going rate now?

[Answer] It has increased nearly four-fold. They may be bought for 330-340 zlotys and sold for 370 zlotys.

[Question] What is your work in the militia? How did you get here?

[Answer] My family members were in the militia. My father served in the MO since the liberation and retired as city commander of the Lublin MO. This was in 1970. I entered the militia 2 years earlier when I was still in my fifth year of law school. My younger brother also works in the SWM [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. I also married a "flatfoot." Since the beginning I have been working in my present department. I went through all the levels of my career here, from rank and file officer to captain. In the interim I finished the Higher Officer's School in Szczytno. Why did I enter the militia? I have always been impulsive and I cannot take monotonous work. I like it when things are happening. My father's example certainly influenced my decision as well.

[Question] Why did you enter this particular department?

[Answer] I wanted very much to deal with criminal cases and did so for a time. My superior was Captain Janusz Maczulski, the best imaginable.

[Question] Do you remember your first case?

[Answer] One does not forget such things. It was an automobile accident on the Lublin-Zamosc highway. Four people riding in a Wartburg-model car perished. It was a shock for me to see the corpses.

[Question] Did you get used to such sights?

[Answer] I had to. No one in the department gave me any special treatment because of my sensitivity. I went on the scene of suicides, murders and fatal accidents. I took part in autopsies. I quickly stopped going to autopsies, however, because they were too much for me. In the end I was convinced that this was not my life's work and I transferred over to conduct economic cases, my work until the present.

[Question] What cases have you solved in this field?

[Answer] My first big case concerned the liquidation of damage to tobacco plantations in 1974. The case involved the former Bilgoraj district. Hail had fallen, partly destroying tobacco plantations. Liquidators came from the PZU [State Insurance Bureau] and got to work. They had to estimate the losses and calculate them in zlotys. The Bilgoraj peasants thought that every contact with the office had to be "reinforced" by a bribe. Hence a cut for the liquidators, who were handed bribes and took them. The head of the group was Zbigniew B., known as "The General." He directed all of these contacts between the PZU and the peasants, clearly drawing a profit of his own. In the end "The General" was imprisoned. Two female liquidators with whom I dealt, who were students, received suspended sentences. So did several farmers who never did understand why they were being punished.

[Question] What is "in the shop" now?

[Answer] We are investigating a shortage in a protective clothing warehouse valued at 3 million zlotys. The matter concerns the CPN [Petroleum Products Center] of the POPN [Petroleum Products Marketing Enterprise] in Lublin. It is still too early for details.

[Question] You work in a typically male department. How do your superiors and colleagues treat you?

[Answer] In work matters they treat me as an equal. In terms of manners, they treat me as a woman. In spite of the fact that in our work there is little place for artistic or cultural reflection, my colleagues and superiors are gentlemen. Two other female colleagues who conduct investigations in the department agree. When it is necessary, they are very tolerant.

[Question] Do they also see you as women?

[Answer] Of course they do.

[Question] Does your department include specialists on difficult, complex cases--the Maigret sort of commissioners?

[Answer] No, we do not have these. Everyone has an equal burden. The militia is not a firm of film stars or shirkers. The average level of skill determines the effectiveness of action. For example, in our department this level is high.

[Question] Are some cases never solved?

[Answer] Yes, although this is rare.

[Question] Do you have some unsolved cases of your own?

[Answer] Yes, two. The prosecutor discontinued the investigations.

[Question] How do you begin your work with "clients" in a case?

[Answer] Since they concern excesses, my work starts with the figures, or rather tampering with the figures. Usually I begin by talking with the person who did the accounting. This conversation shows me the direction that I must take to reach my goal. Sometimes cases are clearcut, but sometimes there are uncertainties and one must ask experts for help.

[Question] How do you talk with suspects?

[Answer] Your question most likely emanates from the current "opinion" that primarily we try to scare a suspect and terrorize him mentally. I deal with intelligent people whom one does not scold, but with whom one must use one's wits. Conversations with suspects are a sort of intellectual game that

must be won. The situation is usually disadvantageous to the person conducting the hearing because the person sitting on the opposite side has the greater knowledge of his trade and its regulations. He can hedge or lead me astray. Often his arguments seem plausible, until one gets a different picture when an expert is called in.

[Question] What are the most critical points of the investigation?

[Answer] The most crucial part is the unraveling of the crime. This is the absolute basis of success. The second part is proving the crime to the suspect, which usually leads him to admit his guilt. Finally, the court's recognition of the guilt of the accused on the basis of the amassed evidence, and the sentencing are very important.

[Question] Which of these do you find the most interesting and satisfying?

[Answer] I think that every investigating officer likes best to decipher the workings of the crime.

[Question] How often do you wear a uniform?

[Answer] I rarely do. The last time was when I was promoted to captain. I prefer more womanly garb.

[Question] Has anyone in your company ever discerned your profession after talking with you for a while?

[Answer] This has never happened to me. People are very surprised when they find out what I do. My colleagues are considerably easier to find out.

[Question] Do you carry a weapon?

[Answer] No, I do not carry firearms. The only pistol I own is a starting gun made in Czechoslovakia. I received it from my husband for my name's day.

[Question] Did you ever make use of self-defense or force in your work?

[Answer] I never had the need.

[Question] The assertion that your profession is difficult and thankless is banal. In your opinion, what is the most unpleasant aspect of your work?

[Answer] The odd working hours are the most inconvenient aspect. There is also the mental burden related to the need to give oneself over totally to cases, as well as the nature of the cases themselves. In my case, there is also the systematic ruination of my health with coffee and cigarettes. It is hard work for little pay.



[Question] Then why do you not quit?

[Answer] I do not quit because I like it.

[Question] Do you find time to relax, to rest or to pursue a hobby?

[Answer] Of course I do. When I get home, my work ceases to exist. I clean, do the laundry and cook. It is a tremendous release of tension. I read a great deal.

[Question] Such work as yours reflects upon one's mental make-up. How do you differ from your schoolmates who are now pursuing other professions?

[Answer] I think that I am more precise in my thinking, in assessing many daily situations, less spontaneous in my reactions and more serious.

[Question] In other words, are you less feminine?

[Answer] You have said it. I do not wish this to be so. One is always a woman, but only sometimes a "flatfoot." When I begin to see that one gets in the way of the other, I will leave the militia.

[Question] Pardon the provocation, but that is what I wanted to hear.

[Answer] Come to greet me on International Women's Day, but not on MO day or SB [Security Service] Day.

[Question] Certainly. However, I am not interested in exhibiting socialist realism portraits of women miners, women tractor drivers or women bricklayers. We have had these. I prefer to see how it is possible that in spite of the nature of your work you remain an attractive woman.

[Answer] Have you seen this?

[Question] Perhaps I have, Captain.

8536

CSO: 2600/47

ISRAEL SURPRISED AT NEW ROMANIAN IMMIGRATION RULES

TA071502 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 7 Nov 82

[Excerpt] Israeli officials say they were caught by surprise with the announcement by the Romanian Government which put severe financial restrictions on citizens who want to immigrate. Devora Nahshon reports:

[Nahshon--live or recorded] There seems to be a certain amount of confusion in Israel over the Romanian announcement yesterday that immigrants must pay for education and services given by the state. On the surface the Romanian announcement means a virtual halt to immigration because of the tremendous sums of money involved and because the payments must be in Western currency which Romanians by law are not allowed to possess. While Romania would not mind cutting down immigration, the main reason for the action appears to be the country's severe financial problem and it is generally known that Romania needs hard cash. Confusion here stems from the fact that relations between Israel and Romania have been good. A small but steady stream of between 1,000-2,000 Romanian Jews are allowed out to Israel every year and Jewish immigration went up to 400 people over last year. The head of the world Zionist organization Arye Dulzin said despite the surprise over the Romanian action the only response is to fight the decision. [passage omitted]

CS0: 2020/2

SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP, WORKER PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 82 pp 14, 15, 43

[Article by Florin Georgescu: "The Development of Socialist Ownership and the Democratic Framework for Worker Participation in Management"]

[Text] The building of the socialist system, by way of the especially complex nature of the activities involved, permanently requires the analysis of the ground covered so far and the research into the results in order to evaluate the strategies that have been adopted, as well as to discover new opportunities for development in the historical stage that has been attained. The proceedings of the enlarged plenary session of the party Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 are a direct expression of this requirement and represent a significant moment in this direction. The programmatic document containing an encompassing scientific analysis of the stage attained by the new system in our country and the speech by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, cover the major problems of the development of Romanian society in the current stage, reflecting the concern for the continuing improvement of social relations and the creation of man as an active subject of history and as a conscious factor in the revolutionary transformation of society. Of special importance with regards to both the development of theory and the practice of socialist construction are those statements referring to the ways to improve socialist ownership and, in direct correlation with this, the democratic framework through which the workers are called upon to consciously participate in the management of public affairs.

The raising of production activities to a higher level, the improvement of the system of social relations, primarily those of production in whose framework the relationships of ownership occupy a central role, and the furthering and broadening of socialist democracy, as well as the development of the other areas of social affairs and activities, require as a major condition the multilateral development of human abilities and the full affirmation of the personality in social-economic activities and social affairs.

In the spirit of the Marxist concept about the world, no matter how significant one problem or another might be for social theory it can only find a scientifically based answer to the degree in which it is dealt with and resolved in relationship to human beings. Marx said: "To be radical means going down to the roots of the

problem. For man, however, the roots are man himself."\* As is known, the elaboration of a scientific concept about society and dialectical and historical materialism started, from a historical point of view, with the overall group of activities that mark the beginning of a new social system, the replacement of private ownership with socialist ownership and the establishment of political power in the service of all of society. In the final analysis, the scientific understanding of social affairs, the democratic exercise of political power and the institution and operation of socialist ownership form a unified body and a system whose elements are lawfully implied and mutually complemented and intensified in the new stage of social development. They will be improved within the framework of the system, acquiring new dimensions and values.

The people's assumption of control over their own future, as a form of self-determination of society, takes place through the scientific understanding of the different areas of social affairs and through the understanding of their structures and dynamics. Each stage of the process of understanding them is marked by historical limits due to the fact that the system of science, no matter how broad it may be, cannot fully cover the subject of knowledge and, due to circumstances, that the results of science, as well as social thought, cannot be assimilated at the level of the entire society. In this regard, awareness remains to a certain degree heterogeneous, even under the conditions of socialism. The members of society are not equally aware of their active role in the development of society and the fact that in order to benefit from their labors under optimum conditions they must cooperate at the level of the entire society and that each condition is not only each person's responsibility, but also others' and everyone's responsibility.

The fact that we dwell upon is not of minor importance, with awareness not being an epiphenomenon or a product that merely accompanies the movement of the material affairs of society, and managing to progress all by itself. In its progress, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted at the June plenary session of the RCP Central Committee, socialism can encounter difficulties and even moments of crisis if we ignore the principles of the democratic organization of society drawn from the practice of social affairs and if we do not take into account the possibility of certain involutions in the movement of certain social processes or the appearance of certain phenomena which, because of their nature, are in contradiction to the essence of the new system. Socialism is not a utopian ideal that represents the peak of perfection, but rather actual life in continuing development with accomplishments and shortfalls, requiring not only the lucid designing of what has to be achieved, but also some searching and, as a result, the possibility for some errors.

At the basis of socialist ownership, the members of society actually become the subjects who actively cooperate in their position as owners. Everyone has

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\* K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works", Politica Publishing House, Vol 1, 1960, p 421.

the opportunity to equally benefit from the wealth that is obtained. In principle, no one has the objective, material conditions in order to work against the others. Shortcomings in awareness are not, nonetheless, even under these conditions, a simple abstract idea. In life, it is expressed in phenomena whose range is spread from antisocial attitudes, such as manifestations of corruption, favoritism, social parasitism and robbery, to apathy and idle thinking. Although the objective interests of all the members of society are common ones, there still are people who attempt to use other people in order to achieve certain personal egotistical interests. Certainly, this phenomenon does not reproduce the situation of the past, but it is nonetheless possible under socialism and, as such, must not be ignored. We will not encounter it in direct forms except in extreme cases. The office worker who does not regard his job as a task entrusted to him by society, but rather as a condition for benefiting from this job, the worker who uses the means of production in the enterprise, in other words, the property of others, in order to carry out work for his own personal interest or the worker in the foreign trade network who sells products made by others at prices below the products' value to the advantage of the foreign client, receiving in exchange certain personal favors, are particular cases, but no less detestable of the situation we are discussing.

Shortcomings in awareness, a process which makes possible such manifestations opposed to the essence of socialism, must always be watched by educational activities. Precisely for that reason, in showing the progress made in raising the level of awareness, the secretary general of the party pointed out the fact that there is a certain shortcoming in theoretical, ideological and political-educational activities with regards to the forces of production. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "Without a doubt, this has certain negative effects and we must work in order to achieve the fullest possible agreement between the two facets of social development. Let us transform theoretical, ideological and political-education activities into a force that will bring about the continuing development of the forces of production and the improvement of social structures and relationships."

The system of socialist ownership limits in a processual manner the negative consequences stemming from shortcomings in the level of awareness at a given moment. The existence of socialist ownership does not, however, automatically ensure cooperation and the avoidance of situations in which some people are oriented in various forms against the common interests of all of society, pursuing the attainment of certain personal benefits by violating the principle of equity. The old mentality of private ownership can still be felt in the awareness of some persons by way of the rigid distinction between "mine" and "ours." There are cases where, in the thinking of some people, "ours" is neglected and disregarded as not being exclusively "mine," which leads to damaging views and practices for the proper operation of collective activities.

The incorrect, unilateral understanding of the relationships of ownership is sometimes translated into damaging mentalities. Thus, some people, feeling



that their own position as owners is dissolved into the mass of all the people, can still nurture feelings of being "non-owners," expressing this in their relationship with the means of production and the goods that are produced, as if they were not their own. In other aspects, other people, despite the fact that they are co-owners, ignore this situation, behaving as private owners and not as collective owners; they relate to the means of production and the things that are produced as if they were solely theirs. In the awareness of some people, the specific mentality of the old manner of existence is thus continued. In the first case that we presented here, there is a perpetuation of the behavior of the worker as a simple executive agent lacking any ownership, with all the negative consequences that result both for him and for socialist ownership. As such, the products are not given the appropriate care or, worse, are wasted or degraded. In the second case, in a way there is a reproduction of the mentality of private ownership with a narrow, egocentric horizon. The negative results in the case of the person who expresses an attitude of private ownership are felt not only in the means of production, but also in the interpersonal relations in their work group and in the relationship between the state and the citizens.

Since the members of socialist society are in an equal position with regards to the means of production and national wealth, they equally have the right to participate in the taking of decisions that deal with the mechanisms of social affairs. The process is not achieved, however, as such in each specific case. Although each member of the group has the opportunity to participate in decisions within the framework of the institutions that have been created to this end, we should not ignore the fact - as suggested by the situation that some people think and behave like private owners and others only as executors - that there is the possibility that under certain conditions, in the presence of certain outdated mentalities, optimum participation in decision-making is not achieved. It should be remembered that in the case of an individual behaving at work merely as an executor, on the basis of certain tasks that were drawn up without his active participation, he will subjectively feel a state of inequality in his relationship with the means of production, despite the real situation. His existence as an owner only becomes fully real by making him aware and his living as such. The condition of each worker being an owner under socialism, although objective, will be incomplete if he is lacking awareness and if the subject does not live and behave in relation to others as an active owner, as a cooperating owner. In this regard, it should be remembered that the secretary general of the party pointed out that "it is necessary for us to reflect upon and make certain improvements to the idea of ownership, and to strengthen awareness and the powerful expression of the workers' quality as owners."

There is special significance in the means outlined at the plenary session of the RCP Central Committee in June regarding the improvement of socialist ownership. In this context, we can dwell upon the idea of the direct participation of the workers in the development of the basic means and the means of production. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "In this regard, it would be

good for us to think that approximately 70 percent of the fixed assets of the basic funds of a unit are common property turned over for administration and management and for the development of the workers collective, while 30 percent of the basic assets belong to the workers in the unit on the basis of each worker's participation with an appropriate contribution... This will create the opportunities for those who participate in the development fund... to annually receive a profit of approximately 6 percent, on the amount contributed, in addition to the general payments made within the framework of the salary system and profit-sharing. In cases where activities have been carried out with good results, where there are greater than foreseen profits, in certain cases the amount can even exceed 6 percent."

Objectively, the results of the labors of each person as a joint owner of all of the national property are blended together in the total social product so that, by going through the centralized fund, they will be returned in the form of salaries, profits, investment funds and so forth to the unit where the producer carries out his activities. Despite the fact that what the producer makes returns to him in the form of the means of production (by way of the fact that it belongs to him as a joint owner), they seem to be foreign to him because they were not constantly present in the worker's awareness throughout the entire course of their movements, through the economic circuit. For that reason, the direct participation of the producer in the creation of a portion of the enterprise's fixed assets is capable of contributing to the consolidation of the owner's awareness regarding the means of production. Although he remains the "individual" holder of sums that were advanced, the worker becomes more aware that this forms a unified element of the portion of his comrades' contribution and of a portion that represents common property.

At the same time, this favors the improvement and the broadening of the system of worker participation in the decisionmaking act and in the deciding of measures that deal with the problems of production and social affairs in general. As masters of the means of production in the system of socialist ownership, the workers decide not as isolated individuals and under no circumstances through initiatives directed against others. Through the social nature of ownership, objectively there is no real basis to initiate actions for the exclusive personal benefit of one at the expense of others or to create a condition of individual, egotistical well-being from the labor of others and from their efforts.

The implementation of the new social relationships takes place within the institutional framework of socialist democracy, a result of the people's advances in the revolutionary process of creating the new system, which expresses a higher form of achievement of humanism. Participation in the decisionmaking process within the framework of the complex system of democracy directly requires the responsiveness and responsibility of each person and the clear consideration of the fact that the results are or will be dependent upon the realism of the decisions and the personal and collective contributions to their fulfillment.

Paralleling the system of socialist relations and corresponding to them, in our society there has been created a broad institutional framework through

which the workers can participate in the management of all sectors of social affairs. Like the economic structure, the superstructural system itself requires a continuing improvement expressed in new forms and means for furthering and broadening socialist democracy. In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted, it is necessary to improve the relationships of ownership, social organization, the new economic mechanism and worker self-management.

The fact that workers in a socialist unit are owners of a portion of the means of production in that unit and, at the same time, managers of those means - because the means of production in their entirety are entrusted to them to be administered and developed - confers numerous opportunities, both functional and, sometimes, dysfunctional ones, to the relationships between the democratic structures and socialist ownership. Favoring the functional facets of these social and production relationships involves the continuing improvement of democracy, both in a "horizontal" sense in the decisionmaking groups in each unit and in a "vertical" sense from the basic organisms towards the industrial centrals and the ministries. As owners in their own units, the workers democratically decide, within the general assemblies and other institutionalized forms, upon the efficient use of the means of production. At the same time, their activities, including the democratically decided decisions, will have to be subjected to society's review. Since we are talking about things that belong to all the people, local decisions must fall within the strategic directions for development that have been approved in much broader fora that are representative in relation to all the people, such as, for example, the new forms created by way of the institutionalization of the National Workers Council, the National Council of Agriculture and so forth. For their part, the members of a certain collective within an enterprise must become aware through specific means of those decisions that concern other units since those units are part of the common property of society that are entrusted to other worker collectives to be administered and developed. In this sense, democracy operates in economic units and in the fora superior to them. In other words, it operates at all levels as well as in the system of relations between production units in such a way that a worker, no matter what his job, can make his presence felt directly or indirectly in all the decisionmaking fora.

In this regard, as is known, the socialist state plays a special role. It is a political instrument of the workers through which they carry out in an organized manner the country's social-economic development. In this sense, there is stress upon the requirement to harmoniously combine the new organisms and the new forms of democratic management of society with the organs of the socialist state. All the state's activities and the activities of its organs are called upon to ensure the proper conduct of social-economic affairs and to provide a continually improving dynamic framework for the participation of all workers and all the people in the elaboration and fulfillment of political decisions of major importance for the country's socio-economic life, an expression of the broad spread and implementation of the new statute of man in socialist society as the owner, producer and user of society's wealth.

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# SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF LITERARY, ARTISTIC CRITICISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 82 pp 27-29

[Article by Valentin Silvestru: "The Social Implications of Literary and Artistic Criticism"]

[Text] There is much literary and artistic criticism surrounding contemporary works. In some cases, this has also given rise to worry. Is this not, perhaps, too much? Who would be hurt by this abundance - if it were real? A decrease, even by the smallest amount, in the critical comments would mean a noticeable number of works would remain without an echo in the public awareness, an unjust sanctioning of many artists whose works had been ignored and a decrease in cultural information. The discussions about criticism and the statements by the authors generally involve a single function of criticism - that of esthetic commentary. The professional discussions especially are in reference to the quality of the exegesis, techniques, methodologies and styles. More infrequently and perhaps not sufficiently eloquently it deals with the obligations of criticism with regards to the dissemination and penetration of the work (and creative ideas) in the deep layers of the population, its propedeutical contribution and, one factor that has been much developed in Romania in recent years, its function as a collective cultural animator.

With the same obvious passion that one has when speaking about criticism - be it gloomy or malicious (when it is not indifferent), a writer here or an artist there attempts to acquire his own important critic or to manipulate critical opinion using some of the most extravagant means. The moral pressures that are placed upon professional commentators, both in the editorial staffs where they work and outside their offices, by individuals, groups and "associations," and the attempts to inculcate in them certain opinions and to mold their attitudes take on unforeseeable forms on a vast scale, from refined insinuations to gross interference. Exigency is asked of them, but only in general. Under different specific conditions, they are asked to exercise kindness and caution in passing their verdicts, in praising thematic intentions, in avoiding non-artistic aspects, in glossing over failures and in favoring certain persons who have virtues other than artistic ones.

It is true that some of the best professionals who are true scholars of indisputable integrity reject such attempts and unconditionally express their truths. These people would be efficient in a much broader area and should be followed by



many people who now stand prudently or apathetically in the shadows where they pretend to make criticisms, in a blunt manner, and preside over their priesthods in accordance with declared esthetic and ideological convictions, without reservations and with a single pair of scales for all the productions that come under discussion, penalizing, in exchange, the transient works as well as the refusal to make valuable judgements on works hidden behind a pseudo-essayist front. The social function of criticism that is today inherent and of proven significance involves responsibilities not only for those who write, but also for the broadest possible circles of opinion.

Society cannot remain indifferent if the critical agent, so to speak, is placed in difficulties and if, under certain circumstances, his intellectual qualities and his talents are endangered by urges, even if benign, in the direction of amorality which, in this field, is especially expressed through opportunism. Criticism is not optional and it cannot be abolished, just as it cannot be turned towards arrogant purposes. And, it is not a parasitic phenomenon of creative work. Titu Maiorescu recommended it as "one of the richest facets of the literary activities of our era... constituting a vast discipline that has grown up surrounding works of art." Upon its foundations, furthermore, the giant works of science have risen regarding literature, the specialized histories, dictionaries and other reference books which classify and lay groundworks, constituting indispensable instruments of knowledge.

The appearance of the new edition of "Istoria literaturii romane de la origini pina in prezent" [The History of Romanian Literature From its Origins to the Present] by George Calinescu was greeted with the most justified enthusiasm, and there were many articles that analyzed it from the current view and with pertinent reporting on the problems of the day. It seemed to me that there was less about the fact that it is a critical history in at least two fundamental directions: first, that it is a critical summary of all literature in the sense that it reexamines, without pre-judgements, all the works involved, establishing in many cases valuable points other than those originally made and generally admitted, putting forth new views and proposing new criteria; second, that it is an imposing critical undertaking which, although it deals with everything written on the subject and has an impressive bibliography and a most scrupulous approach to the study of our predecessors, does not give credit to other literary historians. In this case, he works with a complete freedom of thought and in a total appreciative and, obviously, methodological and stylistic polemic with regards to his predecessors and contemporaries, as well as by way of a comparatism of a singular extension. By way of the lessons of the great Calinescu, we, therefore, should also note that the critical spirit is necessary across the board in all areas of professional undertakings and exercises, with the courage of saying what you are thinking being a substantial given in this profession. A theoretical maxim to say: "Like any art, criticism is based upon moral reactions and it is objective to the extent of the free work of man's subjectivity."



Obviously, the retreat of the critical spirit, which now, for example, can be observed in the criticism of music, cinematography and, to a certain degree, the theater, does not provoke the slightest alarm in the cultural environment and does not arouse any type of reproach. This question does not seem to matter to the artists - who are not protesting in any case - and does not in the least bother the creative organizations or the appropriate institutions. On the contrary, some of them seem to be inspired by a feeling of comfort. However, are we not missing the importance of how these values are being split apart? A reader of the dailies in the central press who would want to get a picture of musical affairs during a theatrical season would be surprised to find that all the compositions are reported as being equally attractive and imposing, all the directors are equal "masters of the baton" and absolutely all the soloists are knocking on the doors of geniuses, regardless of whether they are new graduates of the lycee or veterans on their instruments. In musical comedies, it seems that there are no types of distinctions made. In this area for a long time, we have not seen the terms "originality" and "imitation" and the platitudes are not improved upon, although they characterize a broad part of this field. Precisely this type of abundant production of chorus pieces has nothing to do with the selective reviews on behalf of the critics, and the idea of value has also disappeared from discussions since everything that is produced is acceptable and... accepted.

Throughout the country, the musical theater offers dozens of premieres - operas, operettas and ballets - that do not benefit from a critical review and no one knows which ones are successful and which ones are not. Paradoxically, musical criticism is supported by persons of broad backgrounds and high levels of culture who have a demonstrated analytical ability and the ability to put it into practice. Most, however, have opted to merely take on the task of explaining music, which, certainly, is important, and of cataloging talents, not involving themselves in separating the water from the dry earth or the wheat from the chaff.

Ibraileanu also included among the list of professional duties the duty "to encourage only that which is of talent and to take a decisive position against that which does not have merit beyond mere intentions." The result of which is that "encouragement" is only a facet, one which is inseparable from that of a "position." With few exceptions, critics themselves are composers and interpreters employed by the musical institutions, which probably creates for them certain impediments in the exercise of their profession, regardless of how honest and impartial they may be. This situation is also negatively reflected in the specialized magazines whose level of culture is remarkable, but which do not excel by way of their attitudes.

Nor are things much different in cinematography where poor, colorless and unexpressive films are treated with goodwill and even frequently with kindness, in a neutral way, leaving the general impression that we are in good shape when, in fact, the Romanian film industry is still not competitive on the international level and, especially, does not have a clear impact on the public. Furthermore,

an overall review is missing here, with a review being produced at infrequent intervals and only by two or three strongly established personalities. Several young people who have come on the scene in recent years and certain commentators in the cultural magazines in our country are trying to find a more active opportunity for critical intervention in cinematographic affairs.

Literary criticism is today living one of its good moments and is very present and qualified, working with an individuality within a context and through a large number of remarkable protagonists of all ages and backgrounds. The atony of the critical spirit, when and where it is noted, is expressed in a distant exegesis and with a marginal philosophical view which loses contact with the subject. The host of reviews on volumes of poetry say virtually nothing about the authors and their works, putting together in quotes merely certain verses from the poetry that are only interrupted by an adjective or an interjected comment. I was given a numbing review to read in which the writer did not mention the name of the book or the person who wrote it; the editorial staff had added, in footnote, the strictly necessary information.

The interest for sociology and for the placement of these works within the spiritual environment in which they were produced, as proclaimed by the most serious of our colleagues, cannot always be seen in the so-called analyses, where the considerations themselves are made, more than just once, behind the shield of purely esthetic criteria. In the past and also today, literary culture has, however, progressed through critical works of great complexity and solid philosophical and political substance, alongside which the non-spatial and non-temporal exercises, no matter how shining by virtue of their speculative intellect, appeared as artificial chlorotic expressions. The superficiality of laboratory critics seems to me to lead in the end to sterility which, furthermore, could also be seen when it impacted upon a relatively recent dictionary of writers. Without a doubt, Maiorescu continues to be an effective guide with regards to the essential aspect of critical efforts: "The esthetic phenomenon, finding itself involved in new types of problems, must not merely be judged, but rather we must study it and place it in time and space, that is, we must tie it to the spirit of the times and to the evolution of all of literature and we must research it in its influences, sources and creation. In criticism, there is a crossing of our own daring speculation with that of others, of historical research with biographical research and of lessons taken from the comparative study of literatures and the expression of our own emotions." Removing the historical and problematical elements from criticism also has the effect, among others, of moving away from literature by way of implicit statements of disagreement. Calinescu opined that a critic pursues only the establishment of the artistic qualities of a work and cannot be influenced by any other type of consideration. "The study in itself, however," he immediately added, "and the analysis will embrace all the possible problems, historical, ideological and psychological ones; that is, everything that can expand the ability to receive artistic impressions." Furthermore, this is what the most capable and prestigious critical writers in Romania are doing, stirring the interest of others in our national work as an original phenomenon and a noticeable part of world literature.

No matter how much blame is placed upon literary and artistic criticism today, their decisive contribution cannot be denied with regards to the stimulation of contemporary novatorism. Perhaps more sustained than in other historical periods, criticism has assumed its mission of forming public tastes and of penetrating the esthetic awareness of certain broad masses of people, with its enthusiasm being one of a cultural activism of the most noble essence. It is true that in certain professional meetings the ideas of "activism," "cultural," "enthusiasm" and others, by defining an implication of broad sweep in the destiny of creative work, are greeted by a condescending maliciousness. If it is in reference, however, to others, they no longer smile suspiciously, but rather the ideas are evaluated under the sign of exemplary work, saying, for example, that Robert Escarpit "made the school," that the theoreticians of the "Free Cinema" movement are "essentially politicians," that the critic and theaterologist Jean Duvignaud "owes his prestige, first of all, to his sociological method," and so forth.

Current Romanian critics, the best and most prepared among them, have profoundly understood their role as catalysts within the processes that are so complicated in bringing artistic culture closer to the people. Therefore, it is not sufficient for us to state that artistic properties belong to all the people; it is necessary to have an intensive effort, without end and without pauses, so that these properties of today and from yesterday will effectively become a part of those to whom they belong, will constantly attract other receptive facets of the public from a still too large category of the "non-public" and will be understood, mastered and affectively and intellectually, not just factually, accepted by constantly new generations. By thus being helped, it will penetrate awareness and improve it, becoming indispensable to the modern man who is called upon to morally rebuild himself, to reorganize all of society and to provide an example of humanism.

From this point of view, criticism has incontestable merits. It has familiarized broad masses of readers with new poetry, has stimulated the lifting of the critical awareness of the authors of novels and has opened the path towards the concert halls for certain unconventional composers, separating them from all kinds of disreputable styles. These styles include that of "dodecaphony," which, in the accepted way of some, is equivalent to "cacaphony." Criticism has also certainly recognized the possibility of nonfigurative painting and decisively supported the affirmation of modern, non-canonic drama and the clearest theatrical experiences - those that have led to the creation of a Romanian theatrical movement that is one of the most original and coherent in the world. It is without a doubt that alongside the innovative artists it has been the defining critics who have understood and supported them that have considerably helped in eliminating preconceived ideas and stiff judgements, formulating new esthetic concepts - through an inspired generalization of significant achievements, explicitly or implicitly broadening and specifying the acceptance of the terms of realism, tradition, contemporary times and modernity, and placing old antinomies, such as tradition-innovation or national-universal, in new esthetic equations.

The involution of the office critic, one removed from literary and artistic affairs, has naturally been accompanied by the evolution of the critic-activist in the best understanding of the term. Ecaterina Oproiu represents not only a movie and television critic of the broadest authority, but also a stimulator of creative discussions in both fields and an enlightened pedagogue for the young critics who are studying at the school of the magazine CINEMA. Valeriu Rapeanu is the top Romanian editor of theatrical books having a global critical system and perspective, a stimulator of cultural affairs and a laborious and untiring propagator of fundamental achievements in the fields of literature, theater and music. Dan Haulica has a high prestige in the world of art, is the initiator of certain exceptional activities to present young talents, is present in an efficient and daring manner in actions to bring together paintings, monumental sculptures and decorative art with the interests of urbanization, and is an especially well equipped commentator for the masses with regards to the treasures of art. Doru Popovici is a bubbling stimulator of musical affairs who is omnipresent and the initiator of a society to propagate young music, a multilateral reporter. Nicolae Manolescu is the leader of a youth group that has acquired its own distinct physiognomy and launched true talents on their careers. He is also directly involved in the periodic meetings on the science of literature which are held in Bucharest and throughout the country. Without being a critic by profession, Adrian Paunescu has created a club for new poetry and music that can arouse certain reserves (they have already been aroused) and apprehensions (more or less justified), but which has also won an overall popularity and generated an original youth cultural movement.

This listing could be extended. We will also have to note that there is also a cultural liveliness - to use a term borrowed from French - in a group format (in which critics have a primary role) and whose efficiency has been demonstrated. The literary club from the magazine LUCEAFARUL and the one from SCINTEIA TINERETULUI have presented in their pages numerous young poets, writers and critics. The literary criticism section of the Writers Association in Bucharest has given a new push to young critics and has contributed to the publication of certain interesting "Critical Notes" and "Romanian Life." The theatrical criticism section of the Association of Artists has instituted - by way of tenacious work for more than a decade - a system of festivals, meetings, symposia and periodic seminars throughout the country that are a positive ferment to the theatrical movement and a factor favoring the exchange of ideas and practical experiences. The collegium of music critics within the same association, the editorial staff of the magazine TRANSILVANIA in Sibiu which started an annual meeting on literary history, diverse other magazines, county committees for socialist cultural and education and the art institutes can be noted for their organizational initiatives and understanding, the current meaning of cultural-artistic activities and the implication or mobilization of criticism or the means of responding to the proposals of certain critics. This listing, which could be greatly expanded, especially wants to point out the profiling of the forms of action and aspirations towards a spiritual identity which, in many cases, was generated and guided by critics, while in other cases, lively supported by them.



Can this integration of today's Romanian critic in the vast cultural movement be the result of certain haughty trends of personal affirmation - as is sometimes indistinctly, but strongly mumbled? This is hard to believe, given their broad and significant commitment. And then, in the end, a good critic can keep busy writing merely articles and books. More importantly, therefore, we should take into account the increase in citizens' awareness and the increase in the sense of responsibility of today's Romanian critic with regards to the fate of the literature and art that he serves. Should there not be "complaints" - as some say - about the critics who are preoccupied with so many other problems that are apparently extraliterary and about the fact that they waste a lot of time (that they could use "for studies") and that they thus lose something from the rigors of the criteria, such as a selectivity and an elegance of expression, dulling the sharpness of the mind? I think it is better to complain - and to pity them - about those sedentary and vain colleagues who find it difficult to get out of the house, who do not know what is happening in the city and throughout the country, who delight in a type of anachronistic sybaritism stemming from an ill-smelling intellectual flunkeyism, and who speak sufficiently about the "great culture" alongside which other, smaller-sized cultures would live, with these people in fact contributing to an undersizing of culture and, thus, stunting its growth. Caragiale, holding public conferences about art in different cities, Sadoveanu, together with other important writers, wandering through cities and fairs holding popular sessions, Enescu, playing in places where there were no concerts but places that were graced by his presence, Eugen Lovinescu, founding a literary club for the discovery and stimulation of young values, Nicolae Iorga, starting a cultural society, and many other examples show that this is the path to take. Sometimes we are asked, does not this animator activity, especially in a group, lead to a uniform character (and uniform diagnoses) and to an authoritarian-subjugating collective opinion on individuality? Perhaps this is a real danger, however an impersonal critic, one without an opinion, is watched by it in particular, not just in a group. The lucid action of a group is one of personalities having will and ideas, not of degrees and subordinations. Furthermore, practice shows that precisely in the broad manifestations these individualities have been revealed and shaped and that the social function of critics is not heroic, except for their strong constitutions. It consolidates authentic talent, certifies it, nurtures it on constantly fresh information and offers it inviting paths for the research of many phenomena.

At any time the problem remains open regarding the qualities in which critics participate in the identification of problems, the exploration of solutions, the acceleration and further study of the processes of reception and the dissociations necessary for the action of the laws of value in culture and, more importantly, in the industry of cultural goods. And, in the question of the dialogue - which life and the interests of our society require us to examine - with other theoretical positions. But, this is a good that has been acquired, one that is irreversible, participation as such that gives the critic his esteem and nobility, confirming upon him the nature of a motive force in the social arena.



And, this participation clearly does not absolve him of a single shortcoming that can be laid at his feet, shortcomings that become more visible the more they are seen - and this is an advantage - from this forum, the broadest possible forum.

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## ROMANIA

### HISTORY WRITERS REMINDED OF NEED TO RESPECT TRUTH

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 15, 5 Aug 82 pp 16-17

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Hadrian Daicoviciu: "History, Truth and Education"]

[Text] All those who work in one way or another in the vast field of national history welcomed with deep satisfaction the ideas about historical science, its value, and its educational importance expressed by our party secretary general at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "There can be no patriotic socialist education without knowledge of and reverence for the past and the labor and struggles of our ancestors. We have a glorious past, and it is the Romanian people's most precious heritage." By such words the highly responsible effort to reconstruct the past and to present it scientifically and objectively is permanently placed in its true and rightful light. Such words confirm the tie with a long and brilliant tradition whereby history is to be regarded with serious respect.

Over the centuries many fine things have been said about history. In ancient times, Sallust considered it the most useful pursuit and Cicero thought not to know what happened before you were born is to remain a child forever. And he added, "For what is man's life if it is not interwoven by history with life in the past?" The same famous ancient orator devoted a veritable hymn of praise to history when he said of it that it is "the witness of the times, the light of truth, the life of memory, and the teacher of life. In more recent times, the scholar Samuil Micu-Clain considered it unseemly for a Romanian not to know the history of his people, and a thinker like Leopold von Ranke realized that there is no understanding of the present without knowledge of the past.

The illustrious forebears of the historians of today saw and pointed out the educational value of history. When Cicero called history the "magistra vitae" he was undoubtedly thinking not only of the practical lessons men learn from past events but also of the moral influence their ancestors can have upon those who follow them. A little later Titus Livius wrote in the preface to his monumental work that "In the pursuit of knowledge of men's deeds the lesson will be sound and fruitful if you find in a glorious deed a noble example and a strong incentive... for your own benefit and welfare but especially for those of your country." Dimitrie Cantemir was certainly thinking of such examples

who wrote in the "hieroglyphic history": "All glory and praise are to his distinguished name when someone has sweated for his country and braved all dangers for his people."

Historical science has a considerable educational effect by virtue of its nature as an instrument of human knowledge. The historical-materialist conception was not introduced from outside into the study of mankind's past. It was developed on the basis of intensive study of history. Sound knowledge of history and its scientific presentation (in books and articles and in lessons, courses and seminars) are valuable potentials for Marxist education of the masses and especially of youth. The general laws of social development can be understood only through knowledge of history, and without that knowledge the very principle of the existence of such laws becomes an unconvincing assertion that can be learned by rote and repeated but will not be really accepted. Essentially, it may be said that the instructive and educational aspects of history are inseparable.

Clearly there is no question of denying the educational value of the abundant examples provided by the constructive personalities of history. It is very well known how important the example of the unification of the three Romanian lands accomplished by Mihai Viteazul was to many generations of fighters for national liberation and unity. Although it was achieved under medieval conditions and for reasons that did not yet require the existence of a mass national consciousness, and though it was temporary and could not last under the circumstances, the act of unification in 1600 was of vast historical significance. It proved that it was possible to unite all Romanians even in the vicinity of some predatory empires, and it accordingly played an inspiring and stimulating role in the national struggle in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century.

Yet even in the case of such examples we may rightly wonder whether they are always well and fully used to enhance the educational potentials of historical science. Furthermore there is no question that the great figures of Romania's past are often presented in a one-sided way or, at least, are not presented in their entire complexity.

Is the educational value of history limited to the good examples? They help to form and develop the feeling of national pride that is so necessary and stimulating, but the people will always have the wisdom to learn the right lessons from errors as well and from the darker aspects of the past. Omission of the latter and regular presentation of the good examples and aspects alone not only distort history but also entail the risk of transforming national pride into a feeling of superiority and contempt for other peoples. The poetess Ana Blandiana once said quite rightly that "The strength of a people is measured by their ability to view their past and present history with their eyes open, to analyze it constantly and to recognize its bright and dark spots. In the contradictory and so disturbed family of European nations there can be only a continuous and rough comparison." I am convinced that it is the duty of historians to contribute to clear evaluation of the past and to strengthen the Romanian people in that way. That contribution is a profoundly educational act. Tacitus believed that "It is the chief task of history that virtues shall not go unsung and that there shall be fear of infamy in posterity for immoral words and deeds."

Despite deficiencies, it may be concluded that the educational potentials of our beautiful history, whether it is a matter of the collective accomplishments of the people or the actions of personalities, have been and are adequately used in general. But I think the educational value of some historical phenomena, anonymous ones it is true, is overlooked by the historians or at any rate is not exploited as it should be.

At the recent Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee Nicolae Ceausescu reminded those present of the fact, essential in the materialist conception, that "The history of mankind and so also the history of the Romanian people are the history of the development of the productive forces and social relations, the history of the class struggles and the struggles against foreign domination and oppression for national liberation and independent development, and the history of the perpetual conflict between the old and the new."

Seen as a history of civilization, Romania's past presents a wide range of phenomena with considerable educational potentials. In the bronze and stone age the brilliant Cucuteni culture was formed and developed on Romanian soil, with its splendid painted ceramics attesting a profound collective artistic sensibility, an aesthetic taste and a craftsmanship almost unequaled at the time. A masterpiece of neolithic art was created in the area between the Danube and the Black Sea, the statuette called "The Thinker" discovered in the necropolis at Cernavoda belonging to the Hamangia culture. Our Thracian ancestors were the creators and bearers of the bronze age cultures on Romanian soil. During the first two phases of the Hallstatt culture, when bronze metallurgy reached its highest peak, the Transylvanian bronze workers' products reached Pomerania and the Jutland peninsula. One millennium later the Dacians developed an advanced civilization characterized by citadels with stonework walls, shrines with wood or stone columns, a strong and advanced iron metallurgy, mastery and use of writing, and considerable empirical scientific knowledge. Politically speaking this civilization, which was an integral part of the ancient world although it was on its geographical periphery, was characterized by the unification of the state under Burebista's leadership.

Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely. But is it not clear from the above-mentioned ones alone that Romania's whole historical development bespeaks the creativeness of the masses and the people who create civilization? And it is equally clear that this creativeness is a historical phenomenon just as important and valid educationally as a battle for independence or a revolutionary action like that in 1821.

I am sure there is no history textbook or historical museum in Romania wherein the personality of Decebal does not figure, and it is a good thing. The reign of the hero-king is identified with the struggle to defend Dacia's independence against the expansionist attempts of the Roman Empire. But is the stubborn resistance, not for years or decades but for centuries, of the Daco-Roman masses any less admirable, who did not leave their homes when Aurelian retreated and who faced the migratory waves and preserved their language and existence? Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We can state on the basis of the historical facts that the Romanian people were formed over millennia in the Carpatho-Danubian area, and that every meter of land and every stone are soaked in the sweat and blood of our ancestors. In the direst times our forebears clung to the land of their

birth, loving it and its mountains and plains, its splendid rivers and forests, and did not budge from these regions, defending their lives and their right to a free existence. I do not think the real and considerable educational value of this historical phenomenon can escape anyone. It should be fully used in the activity of all those who cultivate history.

In a word, I consider it the duty of historians, in using national history for educational purposes, to appeal both to the collective, often anonymous achievements and to the actions of personalities. As the party secretary general indicated at the same Expanded Plenum of the Central Committee, history "should describe, in the light of the truth based on facts and documents, both the role of the social classes and people and that of the various chiefs of state and political, scientific and cultural personalities."

If history is to be scientific and educational it cannot be divorced from truth. This was said, in the words of his era, by Thucydides, the scholar who left us the legacy over the centuries of the credo of the true historians, the man who wrote for readers wishing to learn "the clear truth of past deeds" and who considered his work "composed as a possession forever rather than a ceremonial lecture to be heard for a moment." In a few simple, unpretentious words the chronicler of the Peloponnesian War set a goal and an ethic of historical research that his followers have frequently forgotten and rediscovered and will forget and rediscover again and again.

Over a century before our era, Thucydides knew that the historian has no right to present events as he pleases or according to mere impressions but solely on the basis of proofs and certainties.

The Athenian historian's ideas were accepted by the great minds of antiquity. History demands absolute respect for the truth, Polybius said, and Cicero always maintained that the first law of history is that no one and certainly not a historian should venture to say anything false, and the second one is that no one should dare to conceal the truth. Did the orator realize at the time that history would be so often distorted by both lies and omissions?

"It is difficult to write history," Sallust exclaimed, thinking of course of the historian's responsibility and not of any "technical" or stylistic difficulty, for it is only one who honestly, steadfastly and enthusiastically seeks the truth who can be called a historian, only one who sincerely serves the truth both in investigation and in interpretation and exposition of the facts of the past, and only one who combines his science with a high professional awareness.

Romanian historiography has a long and splendid tradition in that respect. G. Baritiu stated that "History without truth loses all its significance," and under those circumstances "It is no longer history." And at the end of the last century I. Bogdan pointed out that it was time "for Romanian historical science to entirely outgrow the romantic stage of its childhood. Henceforth its duty should be to seek only the truth in everything. A brilliant roster of Romanian historians (M. Kogalniceanu, A. D. Xenopol, N. Iorga, D. Onciul, V. Parvan et al.) proved to be stalwart and enthusiastic servitors of historical truth.



The men of my generation, and not they alone, have witnessed, often in silence and often powerless, the attempts to distort our own history. But even then the historians worthy of the name kept trying to discover the truth. They collected documents, reflected, wrote papers and kept their manuscripts in drawers, confident that eventually the truth would come out.

That moment has come and we are seeing it today, as attested by the extraordinary florescence of historical studies and research in socialist Romania. And the historians know better than ever what and how much they owe in their lives and work to the RCP.

It is to the RCP's everlasting credit that it has patiently and consistently based historical research on the dialectical-materialist conception. Dialectical materialism has provided researchers with a tested means of interpreting historical processes, phenomena and events. This conception made it possible to place such aspects of Romania's past in their true light as the Dacian state founded by Burebista, Romanization and the Romanians' ethnic origin, Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution and the revolution of 1848, Romania's participation in World War I, and the role of the working class in modern and contemporary Romanian history.

It is unquestionably to the RCP's credit that it has been and is staunchly defending the principle of historical truth and consistently urging historians to seek out the truth and present it boldly. The party secretary general has repeatedly pointed out the importance of real and objective scientific history. He said, "In socialist education of the masses, knowledge of their own history is an important factor in the development of the people's self-awareness.... Thoroughly objective presentation and correct, sincere interpretation of the historical data and facts are vitally important for eliminating the long-standing sources of distrust and animosity among peoples. Attempts to distort the historical data and their subjective, erroneous interpretation according to circumstance or special interests do not serve the cause of friendship among peoples. Such practices are foreign to the principles of dialectical and historical materialism... and to the working class sense of justice and truth..." The party secretary general emphasized this correct principle in many other speeches, at the 1980 meeting with historical scientists, and on various other occasions, making discovery and proclamation of historical truth a veritable subject research program in Romania.

For us today, for us citizens of socialist Romania, the value of history lies in discovery of the truth, for truth alone can teach us, make us understand the direction of history, and educate us. Truth is the chief educational potential of history!

The party secretary general's exhortations to seek and present historical truth also obligates historical scientists to consistently combat distortions of Romanian history, wherever they come from. Romanian historiography has exposed and will continue to expose the reactionary political interests concealed, for example, behind the theory of the "demographic vacuum" left in Dacia by Aurelian's withdrawal and Romanian people's "immigration" from south of the Danube. By adhering strictly to the objective historical facts, Romanian historiography also rightly rejects other equally false theories such as the formation of "two

distinct Romanic peoples" in the Carpatho-Danubian area, the alleged "reactionary character" of the Transylvanian Romanians' struggle under Avram Iancu in 1848, the alleged "imperialist character" of Romania's participation in World War I, etc.

The regular effort to discover the historical truth also calls for rejection of some unfounded theories that sometimes find their way into our own historiography. It is regrettable, for example, that there still are cultural journals and unfortunately even technical journals that harbor articles and "studies" that deny the contribution and role of Roman civilization as well as the Romanic character of the Romanian language and exaggerate the Dacian element in a one-sided fashion, despite the unquestionable and widely recognized achievements of older or more recent Romanian historiography and in spite of the fact that the party secretary general has repeatedly discussed the close involvement of the Dacian and Roman civilizations and the Daco-Roman symbiosis and stressed the Romanian people's Daco-Roman origin again at the recent Expanded Plenum of the Central Committee. Clearly such exaggerations and theories serve neither historical truth nor the educational function of Romanian history. They only breed confusion and impair the credibility of Romanian historiography as a whole.

The progress made on the Romanian historical front must not lead us to forget the shortcomings and the tasks that still confront us. The learned world and the general public as well are expecting more and better monographs and syntheses of the Romanian historians, as well as a uniform and comprehensive history of Romania. Publication of several works on Romanian history in world languages and granting the historical journals more space would be of real use.

I am confident that all these aims will be achieved. I am sure Romanian historical science will meet the high expectations of the party and the people and will become an even more effective educational factor, provided the historians are persuaded that the truth is the strongest educational potential of their science and act accordingly.

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SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE'S DEVELOPMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 15, 5 Aug 82 p 21

[Article by Florin Ciotea, sociologist, Tirgu-Mures]

[Text] I regard the discussion on "Evolution of the Demographic and Social Structure of Romania" published in ERA SOCIALISTA Nos 3 and 4, 1982 as a welcome opportunity for theoretical and practical treatment of one of the most urgent problems of the revolutionary process in Romania. Both the introductory report and the participants' comments bring out the essential features of the evolution of the demosocial structure in close correlation with economic development. Although the views expressed on a given problem or a particular point (homogenization for example) sometimes differ, in general the participants agree, expressly or implicitly, that the evolution of the social structure with its characteristics and trends is a far-reaching, complex and contradictory social process making the greatest demands upon sociological theory. I think the cognitive approach and practical mastery of such a process require the concept of "dynamic evolution of the social structure" as a methodological principle and criterion of rationalizing social action and intervention, inasmuch as evolution of the social structure is not a phenomenon in itself, more or less integrated in the overall social development.

Clearly the discussion envisages this evolution in a certain dynamic perspective that is substantiated, however, in most of the comments by quantitative indicators that are necessary but insufficient.

There is no question that according to the factological record quantitative aspects and dimensions prevailed in certain stages or phases of the socialist revolutionary process that were indicative of a more homogeneous evolution. And it is equally true that over the years the quantitative accumulations gave rise to and maintained a series of qualitative restructurings. But not any quantitative change produces a qualitative restructuring by itself and in conformity with the formulated principles. Sometimes, in certain areas of the social, the cumulative evolution of the phenomena not only does not prepare or complete the leap into the universe of a new quality but may even obstruct it. Moreover even if the quantitative accumulations potentially and latently tend to characterize the new quality in the making, the evolution with its balances and imbalances may be impeded and the qualitative changes postponed by unwaranted and often

...ly delays because the leap is not made at the right time and the many conditions, factors and determinations are not entirely known.

In order to approach evolution of the social structure from a dynamic perspective, we must view the revolutionary process not only from the standpoint of its homogeneity but also from that of the stage differentiations. Judging social evolution in the light of the stages of social phenomena, processes and relations results in more relevant knowledge and more efficient procedure. Actually the stages of social phenomena pertain to the dialectics of the socialist revolutionary process, which process is not linear or uniform because it is not free of contradictions that can impede development in certain situations by creating the very conditions for a relative regression in some area of social experience.

When analyzed from the standpoint of the stages of social phenomena, the evolution of the demosocial and demoeconomic structure enables us to perceive the unity between evolution and dynamics and between quantitative determinations and qualitative restructurings. More than a decade ago Miron Constantinescu, in speaking of "the profound social and class restructurings" caused by the process of industrialization, modernization and urbanization, pointed out the necessity of allowing for the direct effects of the action of objective laws of a stage character, laws that mark certain stages or phases of a more lengthy social process. Unfortunately that fertile and interesting sociological hypothesis was not subsequently developed or determined.

But the sociological studies and the real dialectics of social experience tend to confirm, even if somewhat tardily, the stage character of the action of social laws.

When we consider, for example, a problem constantly mentioned by the participants in the discussion, namely social-occupational mobility from peasant status to worker status, the approach to this question from the standpoint of stages of dynamic evolution of the social structure provides new reference points for analysis. When at the start of the industrialization process, especially in the area of the centers of urban polarization, the manpower requirement for the new and growing industries could not be met out of the natural increase of the cities, we saw an extensive "deaging" phenomenon, wherein tens and hundreds of thousands of rural dwellers (within certain limits, some of which were brought up in the discussion by Virgil Constantinescu) abandoned their peasant status to acquire a new occupational-professional status. Later on when the manpower shortage in the nonagricultural sectors had been remedied, the phenomenon set in of supplementing or replacing the commuters with young professionals trained in schools. Under those circumstances the "deaging" process came to an end. But commuting remained and is now showing new trends in that the manpower requirement has been largely met in the nonagricultural sectors in the urban centers, and situations have even been created where restructuring of the industries and growing productivity due to better use of resources, introduction of highly productive technologies, and better organized labor and production result in a manpower surplus.

This phenomenon had many good effects upon both the rural and urban structures. But it did not take place without disturbances and imbalances even though in a certain stage of social development it was normal and natural on the whole



because the requirements and the real necessity for the action of stage laws had been met. This was because the occupational mobility from agriculture to industry and other sectors met the vital social requirements determined by the high industrial growth rate but left the actual need for agricultural manpower uncovered.

To be sure in the initial stage of the process of rural emigration to the urban industries it was quite difficult to perceive any dysfunctional or disturbing phenomenon because the female labor force had been stabilized and supplemented by "old men" and to a great extent by commuters' participation in agriculture and recruitment of the young labor force trained in the agricultural and agroindustrial school system. But later on the female labor force aged and many youths trained for agricultural needs abandoned their agriculture status for other occupations, so that the evolution of the rural social structure was seriously affected not only quantitatively but particularly in the quality of the labor force.

Therefore I think Vladimir Trebici's invitation to study the phenomena of migration, the rural and urban populations, and "self-reproduction" of the social classes and categories in detail is very useful and appropriate.

This is especially true because "reproduction" of the rural social structure encounters serious difficulties at the point where agriculture and the demands of the strategy of the new agrarian revolution require the optimal balance among the critical sectors of the national economy. Expanded qualitative reproduction of the agricultural labor force is impeded not only by aging and feminization of the agricultural population but also, as some participants in the discussion remarked, by the arrears in the system of professionalizing and training manpower in the agroindustrial schools. The studies we made of this problem in Mures County bear out similar situations in other areas, in that the nonselective admissions to those schools, or what in one comment was called "negative selection of the future agricultural workers" or an "end-choice" for agricultural occupations, produce defective end-results with serious consequences for reproduction of the labor force.

Actually most of those who enter these schools do so because they have not been accepted elsewhere due to poor performances in schooling. Such an "end-entry" affects the process of professionalizing and integrating the graduates in work. While a defective entry in the agroindustrial school system can still be corrected over the years, the defective entry in production already has consequences that are difficult to avoid. The fact that less than half the graduates of these schools report to work places to perform the roles determined by the professional status for which they were trained and only 10-15 percent of them are stabilized after 2-3 years of work in the agricultural units constitutes a serious social loss and a wasted and profitless investment.

Regardless of the objective causes and individual motivations, such a disturbing contradiction between the investment and the result is the consequence of reduced social control over the entries in the agroindustrial educational system and especially over integration of the graduates in agricultural work. The losses in manpower are far too great, especially since in agriculture the manpower requirement was computed in proportion to the "entries" and not to graduation



from the school system, in reliance of course upon the necessary optimum. Institution and promotion of a tight social control over the process of schooling and specialization of agricultural workers as well as new criteria for a professional-occupational incentive that will encourage a positive selection are necessary aids to numerical and qualitative reproduction of the young labor force in agriculture.

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### SPECIFIC METHODS OF ATHEISTIC EDUCATION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 15, 5 Aug 82 pp 22-23

[Article by Prof Ruxandra Gherghinescu, Ialomita County]

[Text] At the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 Nicolae Ceausescu said that the RCP, guided by the scientific conception that attests the material nature of the world, is vigorously combatting superstitions, mysticism and trends of idealist thought but at the same time our whole social existence is based upon freedom of conscience and free expression of religions within the laws of the state. Regardless of his religious belief, every citizen and every adherent of any religion must obey the laws and serve construction of the new order in Romania.

This unity of all workers' efforts around the party policy is essential to the process of building the fully developed socialist society.

But the mystical-religious phenomenon is presenting some educational problems with which we are confronted in Movila Commune, Ialomita County, where one of the Adventist sects exists.

The transition from mystical-religious ideas and practices to the atheistic conception cannot be studied in depth if the power of the human mind to restructure its behavior is overlooked, because that process is only a matter of overcoming and changing a form of behavior as such. Knowledge of the mechanisms for stopping, disintegrating and eliminating religious behavior and forming atheistic conduct is indispensable to atheistic education of the sectarians. As for attitudes toward that sect, our commune has some experience that we think could be useful in other areas too. First we adopted a direct approach with courses in atheism, but the results were not as expected. The defeat called my attention to the complexity of this phenomenon and to the fact that consideration must also be given to some features of cultural level and local conditions, age and collective and individual psychology, so that various ways and means could be employed in a differentiated fashion.

As for the sectarians' psychology, as far as we could determine it, we observed a certain partiality and a certain narrowness but also great enthusiasm in

maintaining what they considered to be their truth, presented with strict exclusiveness. The sectarians do not question whether their standards of conduct and conception of life are authentic values or not. Maintaining bigotry and fanaticism, they encourage an exclusively mystical-religious experience and isolation and withdrawal from human life, preaching intolerance of other beliefs or conceptions of life. They feel disgust for the world, preach isolation from their fellow workers, and alienate themselves from the joys and aspirations that give purpose to life. And finally, they have a resistant attitude toward culture. They are urged to live solely within the limits of biblical doctrine and to ignore civilization and culture. Although the cultural home, radio, TV and the cinema have become media of mass dissemination of culture, some sectarian pastors try to obligate the believers not to use them.

The "Community Manual" compiled by the General Conference of Adventists says, "The radio and TV will transform our home into a theater and a hall of distractions with raucous musicians of a vile and filthy nature." They are advised not to read newspapers or literary works, which isolates them from the problems of our times.

But with the expansion and mass dissemination of scientific knowledge, the preachers have begun to make some concessions and are acting more prudently. Contempt and intolerance of scientific truths have been attenuated somewhat. The sectarians no longer refuse medical care and some have TV sets and follow certain programs and read newspapers.

As for their fundamental book, they consider the letter of the Bible absolute and propose a direct application of the biblical message to daily life. The Adventists' children, pupils in school (some with mediocre marks), know the Bible almost by heart and answer any question with quotations from the Bible.

Religious alienation appears directly or indirectly in all sectors of spiritual experience: knowledge, emotion and will. Knowledge of scientific reality is only of secondary importance to them. Mystical-religious feeling is the most powerful and effective method of spiritual alienation because the sectarian feels associated with and dependent upon another world to which he responds emotionally.

The state of religious spirit, appearing in the course of various religious activities, serves as a mechanism for inducing emotional states and mystical feelings. But the most harmful form of alienation is that of alienating the purposes and efforts of the will, because their actions do not concern the life of the individual and society. They make considerable efforts in an absurd direction, and they also value them in daily life, because within the sect merits are not judged by common achievements of general interest but, on the contrary, by indifference to worldly things. Being alienated, the sectarian tries to compensate for his lack of broad social contacts by seeking and finding satisfaction of his need for communication solely with his "brothers and sisters in the faith."

These three forms of mental alienation (knowledge, emotions and will) determined by the Adventist faith are distributed differently among the sectarians. They affect the personality, which is restrained from a realistic view of the world,

from any profound social experience, and from dedication to the general interests. This phenomenon of alienation, with all its effects of undermining knowledge and stagnation in a morbid emotionalism caused by belief in a fiction and transfer of purposes from the real world to the eternal but nonexistent one, is maintained by obstacles of every kind that appear and also by defective relationships.

The harmfulness of the Adventists' mystical-religious doctrine and activity lies in their profoundly antisocial and antiscientific nature and incompatibility with social progress and the personality of the man of our times. Once more a persevering atheistic, antisectarian activity is necessary, conducted with competence, continuity and adequate ways and means.

Upon studying the Adventists' psychology I realized that between the truth in itself and their perception of it there is a whole series of mental mechanisms conditioning that perception and that the psychological aspect of atheistic education must be worked out.

Our procedure began with the idea that the old attitudes do not give way readily and that the new conceptions of the world and life are not formed or generalized spontaneously. Mental reconversions, like a qualitative leap from one state to another, are preceded by many quantitative changes, which we tried to prepare through the atheistic activity performed. To this end we tried to weaken the states of mystical-religious spirit and to stimulate some intellectual prerequisites if not for the person's understanding of the values of science at least for his information about them. We accordingly began with formation of the scientific conception on the basis of an intensive educational and propaganda effort. We felt that dissemination of advanced science and culture is of vital importance in the atheistic aeducational system.

Proceeding in this way, I tried to approach them through practical interests, relying on the fact that most of them are good farmers, that is through technical-scientific courses given in the Cultural-Scientific University. I relied on the fact that formation of the scientific conception of the world begins with assimilation of scientific ideas. In these courses various aspects of objective reality were studied that were considered in themselves and not incorporated in an overall existential view of the world. The phenomena were studied in isolation, with their natural causes (plant and animal life, atmospheric phenomena). I relied on the fact that each of those concepts has an atheistic significance that would be useful to me in later work and that their assimilation would be facilitated by arousing or increasing interest in those problems, with a practical purpose.

The result of this procedure was that after a few courses given according to a program at the work place, where there were 17 Adventists, I moved the courses to another headquarters and attendance became voluntary. The result disappointed me. Only two of the 17 Adventists came. But their number rose to six in the following courses. I did not consider it tactful to ask them why and I pretended that I did not notice this discontinuity in attendance and that it did not concern me. But I was careful not to schedule the courses on Fridays after sundown or on Saturdays.

In the next year (1961-1962) I had nine persons in the course, including six between 35 and 45 and three between 48 and 52 years of age.

But formation of the scientific conception of the world must be continued with philosophical generalization, on the basis of the assimilated knowledge and with its conversion to convictions. Assimilation of scientific ideas in various courses or through spontaneous influences is essential but not sufficient, because of the fact that while the knowledge is transmitted and virtually requires participation, being addressed to some components of the personality, the convictions to be formed require a direct involvement, being addressed to the personality as a whole.

Furthermore the atheistic program must be guided by the way the sectarian selects the information, a way determined by the scientific data he has assimilated. The task will be to broaden the horizon of the personality and to dispel the preconceived patterns with which he has learned to operate in understanding and interpreting his own experience and in receiving other data. It will be very important to use the contradictions in his consciousness. Resolution of the contradiction between the mystical-religious elements and the materialistic ones will continue through consolidation of the latter.

Another approach to the sectarian phenomenon was educational work with their children, about whom the sectarians say that they give them freedom of choice in observance of the religious standards and even in belief. Being baptized at advanced ages, the sectarians rely on the fact that the children imitate the adults, and as for the children's "freedom" to go to school on Saturdays (to cite just one example), it is based on the fact that the pupils are not scolded for absence from school or are even encouraged not to perform their school tasks on Saturdays, and they prefer to conform to the sect's standards to evade the effort. I found that some professors proceed incorrectly and harmfully by yielding to the sectarians' belief in the name of the principle of freedom of conscience. To renounce atheistic education in the name of a misinterpretation of freedom of conscience is to renounce formation of the new conscience on behalf of which the educator is supposed to act, and ultimately to renounce the status and mission of an educator.

The educator cannot confine himself to transmitting a number of data to the child to be stored in his mind alongside the mystical-religious beliefs so that he himself will decide what to believe and what not to. The child is in school not to decide at will but to learn what to decide.

I have discussed these problems with the teaching personnel, in the form of reports, discussions, presentations and case studies. Last year a receptiveness to cultural actions on the part of the children was observed. For example, a little girl is attending the mandolin course at the cultural home, and the friendships of the sectarians' children with the other children are closer.

In Novila Commune a number of persons, especially youths, have left the sectarians' ranks in the last few years. In one case the departure was due to a marriage, which unfortunately was unhappy and the woman returned to the sect. In that case the fact was overlooked that the results of reconversion are often incomplete. Disappearance of states of mystical-religious spirit does not always



lead to total disappearance of constant religious propensities. Therefore the danger of retrogression remains, so that a supplementary methodology must be prepared to completely eliminate the states of mystical-religious spirit.

The path from the person's "all-inclusive" religious belief must be followed through all possible states in their dynamism, up to complete freedom from any religious influence and a purposeful atheism.

The solitary individual, separated from a collective and struck by mishaps and misfortunes, looks for help which, due to people's influence, he often finds among sectarians under the mask concealing the desire to proselytize.

As a turning point in the life of the personality, reconversion has its effect upon all essential manifestations of human activity, being a change of value judgments, a change of position, and a radical change in the sociopsychological structure of the personality that is the result of a multitude of ways and means of atheistic education: conferences, scientific brigades, films, lectures and UCS [expansion unknown] activity, wherein the emphasis has been on the idea content and the way they are presented and whether they meet people's spiritual requirements and interests, for the effectiveness of these efforts and their power to influence depend on them.

Elimination of mystical-religious practices requires formation of spiritual aspirations that are superior in their content and stronger in significance than the religious ones. Therefore it is a lengthy process wherein new traditions are formed. Let us substitute life itself, with all the individual's potentials and rights to fulfillment, for religion, which considers futility all that man accomplishes in his world and gives the illusion of happiness in the supposed existence "beyond."

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BRIEFS

**REMOVAL OF DEPUTY MINISTER**--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Murgu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 100, 3 Nov 82 p 2]

**PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS**--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Stefan Rab is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Covasna County Peoples Council; Comrade Ilie Cisu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Gorj County Peoples Council; Comrade Vasile Barbulescu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the Olt County Peoples Council; Comrade Valeriu Nicolescu is delegated to fill the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Olt County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 100, 3 Nov 82, p 4]

**BUCHAREST APPOINTMENT**--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Adriana Moraru is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 91, 15 Oct 82 p 4]

CSO: 2700/32

## NEDELJKOVIC REPORT ON TRADE UNION CONGRESS

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[Report by Bogoljub Nedeljkovic, president of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, entitled "The Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia in the Struggle for Further Development of Socialist Self-Management and Implementation of Economic Stabilization," delivered at the opening plenary session of the Ninth Congress of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia at the Trade Union Hall in Belgrade--live]

[Excerpts] Comrade delegates of the Tenth Congress of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. Dear guests. We hold the Ninth Congress of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, our first congress without Tito among us, at a time when clear, open and extremely definite answers must be found for difficult and complex problems. Perceiving the problems and contradictions in the development of self-management which were primarily reflected in a weakening social position of the workers class, Comrade Tito initiated the convening of the third congress of self-managers. That consultative meeting of workers confirmed the firm orientation toward the further development of socialist self-management.

The recent 12th LCY Congress confirmed the continuity of Tito's policy of developing self-management, brotherhood and unity and equality and togetherness of our peoples and nationalities as well as the nonaligned policy in international affairs. The congress expressed a resolute view in favor of strengthening action unity and sharpened the issue of specific responsibility of all subjective factors of society for their behavior and decisions, the consequences of their decisions and a consistent implementation of the development policy which has been agreed upon.

It is precisely at this time that international political relations and trends in the world are worsening. The arms race continues, detente is endangered, the rivalries between blocs are intensifying, the armed conflicts and crisis hotbeds are widening and the differences between the developed and the developing and underdeveloped countries are deepening. The difficult economic conditions in the world, recession, energy crisis and the crisis of raw materials, encapsulation of economies of the developed countries within their own framework, protectionism and the like are most directly reflected in our economic situation. They make more difficult the conditions of economic operations in the country as well as our entire international trade and cooperation.

We come to the Congress with the demands and the readiness of workers to implement socialist self-management uncompromisingly and consistently and, on this basis, to more resolutely and quickly overcome the basic causes and complex consequences of economic difficulties. Workers demand that we all, without exception and with full responsibility, implement the long term economic stabilization program, energetically settle accounts with antiself-managing tendencies and their promoters, more strongly assert work and the results of work and clearly separate work from idling. They demand that complete responsibility for using social resources be enforced in every community where life, work and economic operations take place.

Under the conditions of constantly worsening ineconomic problems and difficulties, important results have been achieved in the self-managing, material and social development of our country. This has happened precisely as a result of the efforts to seek solutions on the basis of self-management on which the Federation of Trade Unions persistently insisted. The main efforts of the organized self-managing forces of society have been aimed at further perfecting the system, on the basis of the constitution and the law on associated labor, to enable workers to decide on all vital issues of conditions for [word indistinct] and results of work. Significant results have been achieved in this respect. The basic organizations of associated labor have especially asserted themselves as the basic and irreplaceable forms in which the associated workers most directly fulfill their self-managing rights.

There has been more associating on the basis of joint income, agreements on divisions of labor and dividing risks, and so forth, than there used to be. The process has opened, and the initial results have been attained in providing the resources for the development of underdeveloped republics and the socialist autonomous Province of Kosovo on the basis of association. Forms of workers' decisionmaking through expressing their personal opinion have become established, and discussions organized among workers in an expanded and improved way have made it possible for them increasingly to express their opinions and positions, to harmonize their positions and interests and to find common solutions.

In the period between the congresses, the social product of the entire economy has been growing at an average annual rate of 4.4 percent, and industrial production at a rate of 6.3 percent. The balance of payments deficit was reduced from \$3.7 billion in 1979 to \$635 million in 1981. The social and economic structure of the population has continued to change. The proportion of the agricultural population in the overall population was reduced in 1981 to 29 percent. The workers class has become numerically stronger, professionally and self-managingly more prepared and ideopolitically better trained.

In the four years, 1.3 million new workers have been employed, of whom 800,000 are in new jobs. A total of 5.85 million workers now work in the social sector. Professional and skilled workers constitute 65 percent of the total number of employed. In this respect we are at the level of industrially developed countries.

In this period, 560,000 apartments have been built. The living and working conditions of the workers and their health and social protection have been improved. Social meals are provided for the majority of those employed. Efforts are being made for a transformation of education and training, and significant results have been achieved.

All these are results which we must not underestimate, particularly since we achieved them in a very rapid development which is naturally accompanied by problems, under very difficult economic conditions, in a complex international situation and with the addition of a number of our subjective weaknesses. These results confirm the strength of the self-managing system to show, even under the essentially disturbed conditions of economic operations, its vitality and ability to motivate workers to search for and find solutions for overcoming the shortcomings and difficulties.

We must not allow what our workers class has achieved with exceptional efforts and under very difficult economic conditions to be devalued and disdained. Socialist self-management is not to be blamed for the problems which we are facing, as carpers wish to assert, and it does not lead to economic difficulties and social contradictions. It is precisely the contrary: because of the problems and difficulties which we are facing, the essence of the social processes developing in our country cannot be seen properly. [applause]

It is a matter of deep and essential changes in the enhancement of self-management as the basic production relationship. We have opened the processes whereby workers are mastering social reproduction, investment, the banking and credit sphere and all other essential problems relating to their social and economic position. A class struggle is being waged to combat the tenacious resistance by bureaucratic and technocratic forces that still have a great power of deciding in these fields. We can freely say that self-management now is stronger and more able to solve more successfully, through the initiative of the million-fold masses of workers and working people, the most complex problems, to overcome resistance and to open the prospects for further social development. The workers class of our country is prepared to defend self-management with all means, and there is no power that could turn it from this direction. [applause]

Several essential priority tasks are now facing our society and our workers class as a condition for further successful and stable development. These are: Workers making decisions on the entire income and on all essential development problems, the implementation of the economic stabilization policy, and the strengthening of responsibility as an essential element of the self-managing socialist system. In wide pre-congress discussions, at the republican congresses and provincial conferences of the Trade Union Federation, requests were made that in connection with these current and complex issues, clear and precise tasks should be determined so as to overcome the present difficulties. Only in this way it is possible to carry out the broadest possible mobilization of the workers class and all other factors in society.



The basic causes of the present difficulties and problems lies in the fact that the workers still have insufficient say on the conditions and results of their work. A large part of the funds is separated from the workers and is used in some cases even bypassing their interests and very often bypassing their decisions. This is an essential class problem, decisive for the development of socialist self-management. Contributions from income are often covered by merely formal decisions of workers, and the cases are not rare in which technocratic and bureaucratic forces are hiding behind these decisions.

The economic policy measures which were resorted to in this period were not directed toward eliminating the deeper disturbances but were, as a rule, concentrated on overcoming the momentary economic difficulties and they were often adopted late. Some of them were adopted without a prior assessment of the effect and consequences, and they could not contribute significantly to the creation of conditions for stable and harmonious socioeconomic development.

Solutions for the problems and contradictions of our development were sought through a multitude of administrative measures instead of consistently implementing self-managing accords and agreements and developing the machinery set up with the constitution and the associated labor law and other laws regulating the system. It is a fact that these measures did not produce the expected effects. We have frozen prices, but inflation continues to grow. We have restricted investment, but a lot of uneconomical investments are still made. We have restricted public and common spending, but the taxes are still higher than planned.

We had known, and it has been again confirmed, that administrative measures in our system are not and cannot be the right road for solving the difficulties that have arisen. Therefore we, the trade unions, assess that they must be resorted to only in cases when we assess that they are readily indispensable and urgent, when they serve the enhancement of self-managing rights and responsibilities and when workers are ready to support them. In general one should have no doubt in the readiness of our workers class and our people to accept even self-denying measures if they lead to a way out of the difficulties. I think that the best confirmation of this is the present case of the measures adopted by our Federal Assembly and the Federal Executive Council.

Such a situation [applause], such a situation when we have a growing administration and when the illusion is created that the self-managing machinery is inefficient--this was also favored by the behavior of the subjective forces that did not take sufficiently concrete measures and activities for resolving the problems and difficulties. Rather, these forces dwelt on assessing the situation, determining the general directions, repeating positions and views instead of conducting unified and synchronized activities. They did this instead of clearing up the situation in every specific community and proceeding from the position and solutions on which workers can be mobilized.

This complex situation demands a resolute break with the old practices and much great efficiency of all social factors. We possess the agreed foundations for such work in the form of the long term program of economic stabilization.

Our strategy rests on our own forces, on larger exports, greater productivity in the economy and great productivity of labor, reduction of spending, more saving, a faster and broader association of labor and pooling of resources, a fuller working of economic laws and a consistent application of the principle that every individual and every associated labor organization achieve its position on the basis of work and results of work.

I propose that our Congress should unreservedly support the policy and the action platform of the long term economic stabilization program and demand that a comprehensive program be adopted by the agreed deadline and with out active participation, that all the economic machinery and instruments be adjusted to the positions and directions of the program and that on this basis the responsibility for a consistent implementation of the economic stabilization policy be intensified to the extreme. [applause]

All kinds of spending, and especially spending on investments, must be reduced to agree with the material possibilities of the economy and society. Because they had grown unrealistically, often on the basis of borrowing, they must be cut down essentially, along with a rigorous saving of all means of production, energy, and dinar and foreign exchange funds, and so forth. We must cherish no illusion that we can get out of the present economic difficulties without renunciation and without extensive saving, over a prolonged period.

All the development plans beginning with next year must proceed from the premises set down in the economic stabilization program and must concretely elaborate them. The implementation of economic stabilization is an essential class question. There is no alternative to it in our country, for economic instability and high inflation affect most the workers class and the working people who make a living from their work. They are now paying the high price of economic instability.

The Trade Union Federation will no longer allow some people to make wrong decisions and the workers to bear the consequences of such decisions. [applause] The Trade Union Federation, proceeding from the unity of the workers class interests, will conduct a political action so that the self-managing decision making by workers is implemented as a comprehensive system, from the basic organization of associated labor through the communes, provinces and republics up to the federation.

Comrades, proceeding from the global priority tasks established in this way, I will select some (essential) questions for the further activities and actions of the Trade Union Federation. These are the question which in our estimate are of special importance for the further development of socialist self-management and for overcoming the economic difficulties.

The self-managing association of labor and pooling of resources is the basic road to the development of self-management, the realization of the social nature of work and income, and the working of economic laws. The experiences so far show that the self-managing linking of associated labor and association and pooling of resources on income foundations have not assumed extensive

proportions. Therefore, they have not become a significant factor in the stabilization of the socio-economic development and the solving of economic difficulties.

A considerable portion of accumulation funds is concentrated in the banks and is channeled through loans for new investment. Factors outside associated labor have a very strong influence on the use of these funds. The pressure is still strong to provide investment funds through a primary increase in the money supply, through pooling the funds by law and not by self-managing decisions, and through borrowing abroad without settling the obligation of repaying the foreign exchange debt.

A self-managing system of planning is being implemented slowly and inconsistently. In addition, planning is not sufficiently realistic and is burdened by voluntarism. Changes in the current economic policy are frequent. This also makes it difficult to set up long term income and business links between associated labor organizations. The primary distribution and the system and the policy of prices have frequently failed to contribute to a faster association of labor and pooling of resources on incomes foundations, but have intensified the inequality of the business conditions. Because of the differing price regimes, the established economic links and business relations between associated labor organizations also were broken.

The manner of acquiring and distributing foreign exchange has contributed to a great extent, especially recently, to a territorialization of interests. It has had a negative influence on the self-managing income links among associated labor organizations in their pursuit of joint programs.

The Trade Union Federation must no longer exhaust itself with assessing and criticizing these processes for not running at the desired speed. It is our task to organize the workers so that this situation may change more rapidly. This is of essential interest to the workers class. It must not be allowed that spontaneity prevails in this field and that the influence of forces outside associated labor and even political bureaucracy should dominate. We must make a radical turn in the activities of the Trade Union Federation and the several unions so as to speed up the process of associating labor and pooling resources on the unified Yugoslav market.

Our political request from this congress should be: No plan in associated labor or a sociopolitical community should be adopted without providing for association and income links. [applause] Therefore it is of particular importance that we should ensure with our activities that funds for every new investment project, or expansion and modernization of the existing capacities, be provided primarily on the basis of association.

The Trade Union Federation should not reconcile itself to low production and low productivity of labor, for on such a basis it is impossible to achieve larger income, higher exports and faster employment, or the prospects for the workers that they will constantly enhance their material and social position by more work and effort.

An increase in production, however, can be achieved only on the basis of better quality factors of production and a rational utilization of all existing reserves. Therefore we must devote special attention to the social organization of labor and of business operations which will make possible a greater utilization of the existing capacities and of the labor time, an application of new machines and technology, a greater use of science, a better disposition and involvement of professional cadres, a reduction of the production and other costs, a lowering of overhead and administration at all levels and a consistent application of distribution according to the available income, work and results of work.

As precise answers as possible should be provided to the questions: Why is the attitude toward work deteriorating? Why is there not enough responsibility for measures? Why the lack of discipline? Why are the obligations undertaken not implemented? Why is the motivation of workers to achieve higher production and income weakening?

The basic reasons, in our opinion, are that: Workers do not actually master the entire income; that a stimulative system of distribution has not been fully elaborated; that income in some associated labor organizations and work communities is attained without much work; that organization of work is poor; that nepotism and favoritism are pronounced in cadre policy and relations in basic organizations of associated labor; that the organizers of production are not responsible and are not able to resolutely deal with idlers for any poor work they do; that high earnings are possible outside regular work hours; and finally, that the belief as well as the practice are widespread that if one gets a job, one will be employed forever regardless of how he works, how much he works and how he behaves.

On behalf of the majority of the workers and jointly with them, the trade unions must wage a resolute action so that such socially harmful occurrences, dangerous to self-management, will be concretely, quickly and energetically cleared up. Therefore it is necessary that self-managing acts should clearly define responsibility for implementing the tasks, so that any idleness be prevented.

Problems of income earnings are particularly pronounced in social and other noneconomic activities. The principle of a free exchange of labor has not yet pushed out the system of financing through contributions. Workers in social activities still predominantly earn their income on the cost principle. The consequences, among others, are that workers in public and professional services in the economy and in noneconomic activities--where the work contribution is not measured and where personal incomes, as a rule, are higher--can solve their housing and other problems essential for their material and social position more easily and more speedily than workers in direct production.

In a majority of cases, work outside production halls and direct material production still has not been evaluated. Differences in the personal incomes of workers for the same or similar work are still great, for the majority of personal incomes depend on where they work and not on how much and how they work.

Proceeding from this, I wish particularly to stress some of the most important directions of our future activities. The Trade Union Federation must struggle in its activities for the following:

First, that in the field of income and income relations one should eradicate the behavior and the practice that higher income is attained through unjustified price increases, unjustifiedly high costs and in similar ways. These things devalue the socioeconomic essence of income and create the belief that income can be easily gained, whereupon such income is easily spent and inflation is nourished.

Second, that the principle of a free exchange of labor be resolutely implemented and that funds be provided so that social and other similar activities should gain income depending on their contribution to the increase of productivity and income. This is the condition for limiting and rationalizing excessive spending in this field.

Third, that the prevailing manner of gaining income should be common revenue and common income.

Fourth, that social accords and self-managing agreements on the distribution of income and general acts of associated labor organizations should determine and apply the basic yardstick of measuring the contribution of work to the creation and increase of income. This would ensure that income gained under exceptional market conditions or other favorable conditions, or income gained through an unjustified increase of prices, will be excluded from the system of distribution of personal income and joint consumption funds. This would also ensure that the basis for determining the part of net income to be distributed among personal incomes and joint consumption will be based on specific yardsticks of productivity, economy and profitability of current and past labor.

Fifth, that all business and work results be evaluated and measured, and it must be ensured that both the quantity and the quality of work, effects of managing past and current labor, conditions and results of work are evaluated, and that one should approach more resolutely a higher valuing of production work, work under difficult conditions and creativity.

Sixth, that the foundations and yardsticks for measuring the work contribution of workers and groups of workers be related to the increase of work productivity and of income.

Seventh, that under conditions of the struggle for economic stabilization, the occurrences of egalitarianism be more rapidly overcome and combatted by ensuring the application of the most stimulating system of distribution according to work.

Eighth, that differences be overcome in personal incomes among associated labor organizations, groups and branches of the economy, resulting from favorable conditions in earning income, from monopoly positions, unjustified price increases and (?favorable) positions on the basis of systemic solutions and economic policy measures.



Ninth, that the activities that have been started for the sake of a higher social and material valuing of production work, work done under difficult conditions and creative work be conducted in a more organized and intensive way in all the basic organizations of associated labor.

Tenth, that work done by workers who contribute to the rationalization of work and operations and who introduce new technical and technological solutions into the process of labor, and work by workers in educational, scientific, health and similar organizations contributing to an increase in the productivity of labor and income be more highly valued.

The implementation of the principle of distribution according to work is of essential significance for the position of the workers class and one of the basic principles of socialist self-management, and the obligations and responsibilities of the Trade Union Federation in this field are the highest.

Comrades, the Trade Union Federation approaches employment and new jobs as one of the essential factors of socioeconomic development and of the social position and social security of the working people. Despite all the results achieved, exceptionally big problems are facing us in this field. These problems have economic, social and political dimensions. The large number of unemployed constitutes a source of large social inequalities and unequal rights in society. Unemployed, professionally trained and skilled persons constitute a tremendous but unused reserve for a quicker and more successful material development and implementation of the economic stabilization policy.

It is the obligation and responsibility of all the employed workers that they create conditions for expanding the material basis for quicker employment, especially of young skilled cadres finishing their education. We must strive and struggle more energetically for quicker productive employment. The Trade Union Federation must strive more energetically so that the youth be encouraged, through higher social and material valuing of production work, to seek jobs in production and jobs where there are vacancies, instead of administrative and unproductive jobs. In this sense one should retrain the (?unemployed) cadres as well as the employed workers.

Employment reserves lie in a greater geographical and professional mobility and mobility among the branches of industry in a unified Yugoslav area. Considering that the problems of unemployment are particularly pronounced in the underdeveloped regions of the country, they must be solved more rapidly through the association of labor and pooling of resources among associated labor organizations of these regions and those in the developed regions.

It is necessary to examine the possibility of introducing shorter working hours particularly in jobs and tasks which are carried out under difficult conditions harmful to the health of the workers. The possibility of introducing shift work and so forth also should be examined.

The Trade Union Federation supports specific measures for a more rapid development of small businesses, for encouraging work with means owned by citizens, for setting up contractual organizations of associated labor and so

forth. It is necessary more energetically to overcome the resistance that exists in some communities in connection with the development of this kind of work.

The present significance of food production and the opportunities we have in this field are such that it is in the social interest that a number of youths be guided to link their living and their work with the countryside and agriculture. In this direction we must work for the creation of economic and other preconditions so that life and work in the countryside and in agriculture be more fulfilling.

One should utilize to a greater extent the readiness of our workers who return from temporary work abroad to invest their funds in setting up artisan workshops, in service activities which are lacking in associated labor, in advancing production in their own agricultural holdings and so forth. One should encourage various forms of their cooperation and their links with the social sector.

The Federation of Trade Unions will strive to ensure that the employment measures provided for under the long term economic stabilization program will be consistently implemented. At this congress, we must adopt a clear and resolute position that all those who have fulfilled the necessary conditions should be retired and that work by pensioned people should be prevented [applause]; that overtime work be banned except in exceptional cases when the nature of work and economic operations demand it and when the proper decision is made; that all supplementary work be reduced to lowest possible minimum; that the individuals who refuse to be retrained and accept the offered employment be taken off the unemployment records and deprived of material support [applause]; that the organizations and work communities closing themselves against employing young people, and especially those resisting the employment of trainees and women, be branched accordingly [applause]; and that all organizations and responsible individuals be called to account for their failures to adhere to the agreed priorities in employment, for circumventing competitions and for other deviations in employment. [applause]

Comrades. The extremely complex and unfavorable economic situation has most directly affected the material and social security of workers and has seriously endangered the achieved standard of living. Our social policy has not succeeded in more evenly distributing the burden of the increased costs of living and inflation among all sections of the society. The standard of living of those workers who exclusively live from their personal incomes from a work relationship has been exposed to the most serious threat. This fact intensifies the political nature of this problem because, in this situation, the social differences are deepening and worsening in some sectors instead of being reduced and eliminated. We face the phenomenon and practice that great benefits and wealth are obtained without work or--what is unacceptable under our conditions--through collusions, improper practices, privatizations at the expense of social property, bribery, corruption, crime and the like. All this weakens the struggle and efforts for economic stabilization, corrodes the basic values of self-management, devalues the norms of socialist morals and introduces into our social relations the alien ideology and the mentality

that it is possible to live well without work--that is, that it is possible to live well by speculation, capitalist operations and the like. All this affects the political mood of workers, threatens the stability of our development and system and represents a serious warning that these problems must be solved as soon as possible.

Because of our excessive foreign debts, in the coming period and especially in the first years of the implementation of the stabilization program, we must expect serious difficulties in the sphere of standard of living. We must prepare for these difficulties in advance to ensure that we will not jeopardize the basic course of our development because of them. The number of the workers whose standard of living will be disrupted will increase because many organizations of associated labor which operate with losses or at the edge of profitability will find themselves in a far more difficult situation. The trade unions must insist on eliminating the causes of losses and on finding the correct ways to recovery and demand the responsibility of those who have caused the losses. It must be clear to all that we must work and save more and, in this period, also deny ourselves something.

However, under these conditions, the prospects and guarantees for a certain level of the material and social security of workers are necessary. The entire economic and social policy must ensure that the burden of stabilization be equally and evenly borne by all sections of the society.

I want to emphasize some of the basic issues in relation to which the Federation of Trade Unions will determine its specific tasks in its activity among workers and the society:

One--the position of every worker must primarily result from his own life, his current and past work, and his contribution to our society's development. In this connection we must strengthen the place and role of personal incomes as the most essential elements of the standard of living of the working people.

Two--in this difficult economic situation, we must ensure the best possible prospects for satisfying to a certain extent the housing needs of workers and their families especially in the industrial centers. For that purpose we will struggle to ensure that more inexpensive and modest apartments be built and that no privileges be allowed in this connection, that the action of "You have a house, return the apartment" will extend to the entire country, that this action will not be of a short duration [applause], that all self-managing and subjective forces and not only the trade unions will join this action, that the rents will be gradually increased and moved closer to economic rents, that the rents will be progressively increased for those who have a larger living space and that those who have lower incomes per member of household will be protected by larger subsidies. [applause]

Three--the care for work conditions and for the protection of workers at their work places must not be of secondary importance. In the coming period, we will open up greater opportunities to shorten the workday in the jobs in which work conditions are difficult and endanger the health of workers. We will not allow that public catering, and especially hot meals for workers in material production, be jeopardized. We will strive to create the necessary conditions for organized transport, annual vacations, child care and all the

Four--We will insist on the priority task of ensuring for people the supply of the basic agricultural and food products and other consumer goods which are essential for existence. We will demand full responsibility for various machinations, blackmails, artificially created shortages of goods for the purpose of forcing higher prices and the like. [applause]

Five--We will continue to train the solidarity--an important element of the social and material security of the worker [pence indistinct]. In this connection we will advocate selective and differentiated measures to ensure that assistance will be primarily extended to workers who live exclusively from their personal incomes and have families with many members.

Six--We will oppose all social differences resulting from various abuses, bribery, corruption, privileges, crimes and so forth. We will demand full responsibility from all those who are inconsistently implementing laws, regulations and other norms and are thereby contributing to unjustified social differences. [applause] We will fully support the struggle in practice of all competent inspection, tax and prosecution organs, courts and other organs to eradicate these socially harmful phenomena. We will especially insist on a consistent implementation of tax policy in our society. We will find it difficult to implement our social policy unless this policy becomes an inseparable part of the entire social policy and socioeconomic development; otherwise, the measures taken will be of short duration and will only alleviate the consequences of, but will not contribute to, solving the really essential problems. The practice of the last 2 years has clearly demonstrated this. For this reason we must demand that the social policy measures be adopted as soon as possible as part of the long term economic stabilization program, that social policy be implemented on these foundations, and that the real decline in the standard of living be checked on these foundations. If we fail to do this, we will not be able to implement--successfully and without any major shocks--all other measures of the long term economic stabilization program.

Comrades. The Federation of Trade Unions has a duty to constantly advance its own organization to enable it, both as regards its cadres and its action, to fulfill as completely as possible its constitutional role and perform its function and really assert itself as an independent and equal factor [word indistinct] political system of socialist self-management. By building itself up in this way, the Federation of Trade Unions must ensure that it will independently express and fulfill the authentic interests of the workers class. This is the prerequisite for the Federation of Trade Unions to be able to mobilize, organize and politically activate the workers class. It is through a further political and organizational buildup that a constant development and strengthening of the Federation of Trade Unions as one of the basic integrative factors in the associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management must be ensured. The present political and economic situation especially imposes the need for the Federation of Trade Unions to fulfill its integrative role.

In its daily actions, the Federation of Trade Unions must recognize the real interests of workers to be able to determine its specific tasks in which it will be able to obtain the full support and mobilization of workers. It is

not only the reputation of our organization among workers and in the society but also the scope of our efforts that depend on our ability to perceive and express the basic aspirations of workers and to act on these aspirations. It is especially important and necessary to develop and prepare the basic organizations of the Federation of Trade Unions because it is through these organizations and their work that the most direct interests of workers are fulfilled and that the basic issues of their life and work are expressed. The buildup and preparation of the communal organizations of the Federation of Trade Unions is the next important link in the organization of Trade Unions because communes make many important decisions concerning the life of workers.

In the coming years, the Federation of Trade Unions must contribute more than in the past to the expression and flow of the unified interests of the Yugoslav workers class and to channeling these aspirations into decisions. It must oppose the setting up of borders, encapsulations, elevation of the separate above the common interests, preparation of trade union views without the trade unions and other phenomena which, in the period between the congress, at times prevented us from fulfilling our tasks and adopting the correct views. It is our special obligation and responsibility to democratize relations and develop collective work and responsibility in our own organization and thereby contribute to democratizing relations in society.

The responsibility of the republican and provincial organizations of the Federation of Trade Unions for the functioning of the federation's organs at the federal level and for a more effective action unity of the organs and organizations of the Federation of Trade Unions at all other levels must be more completely determined and strengthened. As Tito often said, the Federation of Trade Unions must have its own views. The Federation of Trade Unions must be active within the system of socialist self-management and cooperate with local communities, delegate assemblies and other self-managing bodies, the sociopolitical organizations and within the [word indistinct] as the front of organized socialist forces. We have not yet organized ourselves in a way in which we would express the real and authentic interests of the workers class. Unless this is done, the trade unions cannot fulfill its role in our self-managing system. The Federation of Trade Unions must strive to ensure that the worker will be the main factor of cadre policy and the direct factor in the process of the election, appointment and replacement of cadres. This is his constitutional right. It must resolutely oppose the decisionmaking on cadres within certain circles, political activists and the like.

The Federation of Trade Unions must consistently implement in its own organization the principle of returning the cadres, upon the termination of their term of office in professional work, to the communities from which they came, in order to be able to demand a consistent implementation of the same principle from others. I want to especially emphasize the importance of the selection and training of cadres for work in trade unions. The place and role of trade unions in society require capable, class-oriented, resolute and principled cadres, the cadres who enjoy the trust of workers and who are capable of resisting all pressures of the bureaucratic and technocratic structures. The Federation of Trade Unions must not allow itself to be pushed



to a secondary track, must not allow events to overtake its own actions and must not allow itself to become concerned with peripheral issues and, at the same time, neglect the vital tasks which essentially change the position of workers and the workers class and which involve the correct solutions and a way out of the present difficulties.

Comrades, the responsibility of every individual, organization or organ for the work and tasks entrusted to them by the society is one of the social issues which is especially stressed among workers and which has also been discussed at the 12th LCY Congress, at the republican congresses and provincial conferences of the Federation of Trade Unions and during the pre-congress discussions. The present situation requires a more energetic and resolute struggle against the violations of constitutionality, legality and norms of socialist morals, against economic crimes and other forms of endangering the social property, against bribery, corruption and privileges, against threats to the personal and material security of citizens, against usurpation of authority, against bureaucratic and technocratic arbitrariness and all other behavior and actions which violate the self-managing rights of the working people and the social property. For this reason we must be uncompromising in the struggle against everything that hampers the self-managing position of workers, against all usurpations of self-management, against abuses of social resources and against subjective shortcomings and the irresponsible behavior of every individual.

The workers demand that accounts be energetically settled with all who are guilty of abuses but they also demand that an additional step be taken, that is, that our entire self-managing defense mechanism, ranging from the basic organization of associated labor to the SFRY Assembly, be allowed and activated to prevent these phenomena in the future. We must contribute with our activity to assert the constitutional principle of responsibility as an essential element in the buildup of self-management and the entire political system. The unity and indivisibility of rights and obligations and responsibility are the starting basis in this connection. This means: Greater rights involve greater responsibility. There simply can be no rights without obligations and responsibility. [applause] The practice of claiming that we are all responsible for everything must no longer be tolerated because this practice not only blunts and waters down the system of responsibility but also results in a situation in which it appears that no one is responsible.

We must not reconcile ourselves with technocratic and managerial attitudes or with the existence of various alliances and groups within collectives which are essentially usurping the self-managing rights of workers or with the practice that the delegates of workers in the workers' councils and delegate assemblies uncritically vote in favor of the proposals offered to them which are often contrary to the adopted policy and the interests of workers. We also can no longer close our eyes to the shortcomings in the work of our own organizations, such as inconsistent performance by the Federation of Trade Unions in the associated labor and political system, lack of effective organization, the passiveness of some individual organizations and their members and the bowing of the Federation of Trade Unions to various authorities in collectives and the sociopolitical communities. The Federation of Trade Unions must demand that other subjective factors of the system assume their full responsibility before the workers class for their work and behavior. But it must also itself bear its own share of responsibility.

... with our political activity among workers that we must defeat any occurrence of antisocialist behavior and must especially intensify our struggle against all forms of nationalism because nationalism most directly conflicts with the real interests of the workers class. It undermines its unity, weakens togetherness in the struggle for a more stable development and thereby hampers the fulfillment of the historical aspirations and goals of the workers class. The Kosovo events have demonstrated that the workers class resolutely reacts to all phenomena which undermine the integrity of our self-managing socialist community. The Kosovo workers class has resisted Albanian nationalism and [word indistinct] and the intentions of the Albanian nationalists and irredentists to sow national hatred and intolerance. Today the Kosovo workers class, together with all other progressive forces in Kosovo, is aware of all the dangers of any nationalism to its interests and the interests of the entire Yugoslav workers class. For this reason it has fully supported and continues to fully support the activities and measures aimed at restoring full trust among the peoples and nationalities in Kosovo, at further strengthening the trust and togetherness and the brotherhood and unity of Yugoslavia as the most effective and indestructible weapon against all domestic and foreign enemies. [applause] The Kosovo workers class enjoys the support of the entire Yugoslav workers class in these efforts.

Comrades, the difficult international military-political situation and the current difficulties in our country's socioeconomic development, the attacks of external and internal enemies, various antisocialist and antiself-managing phenomena and tendencies, the special warfare waged against our country in a collusion between the external and internal enemies and the Kosovo counter-revolutionary events make it incumbent upon all organized forces of society, including the organizations and organs of the Federation of Trade Unions, to adopt an even more organized and responsible attitude toward the tasks of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

The Federation of Trade Unions, together with the League of Communists and other subjective forces of society, must wage a constant organized struggle against all forms of counterevolutionary and other hostile activity conducted from nationalist, irredentist, unitarianist, separatist and other positions which are contrary to the policy of the League of Communists and the interests of the workers class, the working people and citizens and the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

There is no doubt that, in the coming period, the main struggle for strengthening our society's defense and self-protection capability will be waged in the basic organizations of associated labor. This will involve preparing the economic and other social activities for functioning and actions under extraordinary conditions and in the sphere of the specific ideological-political struggle for a consistent development of socialist self-management. The implementation of the (?constitutional) concept of the federation, republics and autonomous provinces, the development of Yugoslav socialist patriotism, strengthening the international position and reputation of our country on the basis of nonaligned policy, and strengthening the equality and brotherhood and unity of peoples and nationalities because this represents the cornerstone of the strength and vitality of [words indistinct] and security.

For this reason, in the future too, we must measure the strength of all people's defense and social self-protection by fulfilling the interests of the workers class and in relation to the state of international relations. It is our task to constantly enrich the achievements of our revolution and cut off at the roots everything which feeds any nationalism and which undermines in any form Yugoslav socialist togetherness and the internal essence of our society because these are the guarantees of our freedom [words indistinct]. [applause]

The international situation has been seriously deteriorating because of the confrontation and contest of the big powers and blocs. All the forces in the international trade union movement are concerned because of the growth of the contradictions in the world and the negative trends in international political and economic relations. The present [word indistinct] in international relations--be it the crisis of the world economy, wars, hotbeds of crises, the use of force, the arms race, coups and other forms of repression--most directly endanger many achievements and the realization of the strivings of the workers class and the trade unions.

The awareness of the interdependence of the struggle for peace, development and progress in the world and the struggle for the implementation of the direct urgent interests of the workers class has strongly come to the fore in the trade unions. The conviction is growing that the rights and interests of the workers are not realized only in their work places, but that it is necessary that their influence on the overall socioeconomic development be gained within national borders and beyond.

Therefore a joint agreement of the trade unions is necessary on the new international economic order, which will open up prospects for economic and social prosperity for all. It would above all contribute to overcoming the tremendous gap between the developing countries and the developed parts of the world.

We may note with great satisfaction that the world trade union conference on development was held in this city in April 1980 with the participation of representatives of 122 national, regional and international trade union organizations. It constituted [words indistinct] and a step forward and reply of the trade unions to the challenge of the present economic crisis in the world and the political crisis which is inseparably linked with it.

In their overall international activities our trade unions have continued and will continue to struggle for the widest cooperation and for concrete actions of the trade unions to further spread the front of freedom, independence, equality, peace and progress in the world, to strengthen the forces of national independence and emancipation and affirm active peaceful coexistence and equal cooperation among peoples and states. [applause]

The Yugoslav Trade Union Federation will continue to offer full support and assistance to all those who struggle for national freedom and independence, against imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism and any form of

isolation and discrimination. [applause] We will continue the cooperation with the trade unions of the nonaligned and other developing countries, the neighboring countries, the socialist countries as well as the developed western countries, and with wider regional and international trade union organizations. [applause]

The protection of our workers temporarily employed abroad will remain an important part of our cooperation with the respective European trade union organizations. We will continue especially to develop all those activities abroad and in the country which will enhance conditions for the return of our workers and their inclusion in work in our country. [applause]

The rich and substantive international activities of our trade unions constitute a significant part of the overall involvement and affirmation of our country in the international field and the policy of nonalignment.

Comrades, I am convinced that through a frank and critical analysis and assessment of the problems and difficulties which we are facing in economic development and the development of self-management at this congress, we will determine the tasks for a successful development of our self-managing community and on these tasks will mobilize all the workers and subjective forces.

I expect that we will critically and self-critically assess the implementation of our tasks, obligations and responsibilities, so that we may more rapidly eliminate the shortcomings in our work and ensure greater action unity in the implementation of the tasks for the strengthening of the self-managing and material position of the workers and a more successful socioeconomic development. All the basic preconditions have been created for this purpose, for we possess a self-management system which rests on the initiatives and the working and creative potential of millions of working people of our country. We have an educated and professionally trained workers class and we have also created a strong material foundation for our society.

The recent history of our peoples and nationalities teaches us that Yugoslavia's workers class, in its stormy revolutionary path, has always successfully solved even much more difficult and complex tasks, mastered obstacles which bordered on impossible and successfully emerged from all difficult situations. [applause]

At this time when we are waging a struggle for the further strengthening of self-management and have begun a decisive battle for economic stabilization, we need our revolutionary enthusiasm which always accompanied us in our difficult moments. This involves the widest mobilization for an essential turn in the behavior of all. This should take place along our basic direction of overall social actions for resolving the present very complex economic problems and difficulties and for our resolute implementation of the economic stabilization policy with reliance on our own forces.

Therefore, I am convinced that our workers class with its class organization, the Trade Union Federation, and headed by its vanguard, the LCY, consistently

following Tito's road, will fulfill its tasks and obligations now, too, devotedly, properly and with a favorite optimism. [applause]

Long live the workers class of Yugoslavia and may its social power strengthen. [applause] Long live the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities. [applause] Long live the SPY. [applause]

CSO: 1590/46



TRADE UNION CONGRESS ADOPTS RESOLUTION

LD131526 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 13 Nov 82

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)--The strengthening of self-management, coupled with consistent implementation of the policy of stabilization, represents the essential conditions for a stable and coordinated development of our community, for the strengthening of social and material security, as well as for the workers to master social reproduction, it is stated in the introductory part of the resolution of the Ninth Congress of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia.

The resolution emphasizes the following as the basic commitment; the struggle for economic stabilization must be the basic starting point for the determination of all tasks and for the activity of the organizations and organs of the Trade Union Federation.

For this very purpose, the congress demands that the members, organizations and organs of the Trade Union Federation wage a resolute struggle for increased income on the basis of productivity, better use of capacities, faster associating of work and resources, more efficacious inclusion of our economy in the international division of labor and workers efforts to achieve the greatest efficacy of business operations.

The congress states that the adopted medium-term plans of development for the period 1981-85 must be reexamined and coordinated with the aims of the long-term program of economic stabilization and real material possibilities. The adoption of medium-term plans of development until 1990 should also be approached in good time. These plans must be based on a long-term concept and strategy of development and on consistent application of the system of self-managing planning.

The organizations and organs of the Trade Union Federation should ensure that no investment decision is taken without the actual participation of the workers and that the practice whereby others make decisions while the workers carry the consequences of investment failures is overcome.

The Trade Union Federation will resolutely strive for the determination and implementation of the policy of faster development of the economically insufficiently developed republics and the fastest development of the

socialist autonomous Province of Kosovo, and for the stability, security and continuity of resources to stimulate this development.

The congress also demands faster changes in the achievement of the working class influence and interest in upbringing and education. The trade union organizations have the obligation to contribute to assuring that the education and upbringing are in keeping with the demands and needs of associated labor.

All organizations and organs of the Trade Union Federation have the duty to be engaged in the creation of preconditions for a stable and larger production based on quality business operations and on more rational use of capacities and reserves. The allocation of resources to satisfy joint and general needs, as well as other allocations from income, must aim at strengthening the material bases of associated labor, the resolution states in continuation.

The congress obligates the trade union organizations and organs to measure the work and working contribution and thus to promote further the system of distribution according to the results of work as the basic principle of socialist self-management, motivation for production and exports and rational use of resources and working time.

The burden of economic stabilization must be evenly distributed among all working people and citizens and all aspects of expenditure. The trade union organizations and organs are obliged in this sense to struggle to ensure that real personal incomes move in line with increased productivity and also within the framework of achieved income, that the high increase in the cost of living is checked and that every sociopolitical community carries out in time the correction of the lowest personal income and removes differences in personal incomes which are due to the nonexistence of distribution according to work or to privileged position in the acquisition of income.

The congress urges regular, timely and organized supply of the working people and citizens with the necessary basic food and basic consumer goods on the united Yugoslav market.

The association labor and all organs of self-management as well as all social factors led by the LCY have a special obligation as regards the solution of the problem of employment and jobs. Productive employment must be regarded as an essential aim of development of society as a whole. The congress therefore obligates the trade union organizations and organs to strive for faster productive employment, especially of the young and professionally trained people.

The congress emphasizes the need for an energetic and consistent struggle against the violation of the constitution, legality and norms of socialist morality, against all forms which endanger social property and personal and material security of the citizens, against bureaucratic and technocratic willfulness as well as against any other behavior which undermines the self management rights of the workers and social interests.

The Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia will continue to develop activity to promote the position and protection of the rights and interests of the Yugoslav workers who are temporarily employed abroad and will resolutely advocate a consistent implementation of the policy of their organized return, employment and insertion in all social trends in the country.

The congress appeals and obligates the members, organizations and organs of the Trade Union Federation to implement the commitments and tasks determined by the resolution by concrete, organized, harmonized and responsible activity. As an internal moving and integrating force of our socialist self-managing society, the members of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia should contribute to a faster transition from ideopolitical commitments to practical action for the strengthening of the workers' position and for the achievement of their decisive role in society, says the resolution of the Ninth Congress of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia, among other things.

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